MANKIND

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF AUSTRALIA

Vol. 4, No. 7. SEPTEMBER, 1951 Price : 3s. 6d.

CONTENTS

PLATE P. CAVE PAINTINGS IN NORTH-EASTERN QUEENSLAND.
PLATE Q. STONE ARRANGEMENTS, WESTERN QUEENSLAND.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES :

THE THREAD CROSS IN AUSTRALIA. PROF. D. S. DAVIDSON 263
A NATIVE TOOL KIT FROM THE KIMBERLEY DISTRICT, WESTERN AUSTRALIA. MR. H. R. BALFOUR 273
THE HALF-CASTE IN AUSTRALIA. MR. A. O. NEVILLE 274

REVIEWS :

Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern. A. E. JENSEN. *(A. Capell)* 290
Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD *(Jean I. Craig)* .. 291
Kunapipi : A Study of an Australian Aboriginal Religious Cult. R. M. BERNDT. *(F. D. McCarthy)* 293

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS :

Cave Paintings in North-Eastern Queensland. F. D. MCCARTHY 294
Stone Arrangements, Western Queensland. L. F. WINTERBOTHAM 297
Percussion Flaking of Adze Blades. J. R. B. LOVE 297
Ethnological Studies by W. E. Roth .. 298
A Publication Fund Needed. F. D. MCCARTHY 298

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES :

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of Queensland, 1951 299
Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of Victoria, 1951 301
International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 1952 302

Published by
THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES,
C.o. Australian Museum, College St., Sydney.
and
Registered at the G.P.O., Sydney, for transmission by post as a periodical.

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MANKIND

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF AUSTRALIA

Vol. IV, No. 7. **SEPTEMBER, 1951**

ORIGINAL ARTICLES :

Australia : Material Culture. **Davidson.**

The Thread Cross in Australia.* *By Dr. D. S. Davidson, Professor of Anthropology, University of Washington.*

The term Thread Cross is used to designate a peculiar class of object of widespread appearance in the world. In its simplest form it consists of a structure of two sticks crossed at right angles to which a long string is attached at or near the intersection and tautly drawn from arm to arm, with a half hitch on each, successively and progressively outward until the rhombic area of desired size has been filled.

Special terms are required to designate the more complex foundations which, when similarly strung, support multilateral forms. A structure of three or more sticks crossed at a common point is called a Thread Star. It is suggested that Thread Double Cross be assigned to a foundation in which two sticks more or less parallel and some distance apart are crossed at right angles by a third stick.

Other types of foundation are designed to surround an open space. Thread Rectangle (or Square) seems a satisfactory term for a structure of four sticks arranged so that their central portions enclose a rectangular space, and their eight extensions provide the arms which support the string-work. There also are circular and oval foundations, such as bound coils of fibrous materials with many radiating stick-supports for the strings. These can be called Thread Circles or Thread Ovals. Thread Cross Complex seems suitable for compositions in which two or more structures are arranged in tandem or placed on a large framework. The various types are shown in Figures 1-3.

The many scattered appearances of the Thread Cross in North and South America, Europe, Asia, Indonesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, Melanesia, and Australia present an interesting but baffling problem in historical relationships. The structural forms and the principles of construction are simple. The materials, sticks and string are readily available everywhere. The concentric diamonds decorative effect found in the specimens of many areas is unavoidable if the colour of the working strand is changed at intervals. But strangely enough these objects tend to be associated almost everywhere with festive occasions, religious processions and rituals, initiation ceremonies, or other events of emotional bias. Such contexts do not suggest numerous independent developments. Nor does the limited evidence now available readily lend itself to the conclusion that all of the far-flung occurrences are historically related.

* This paper represents a partial result of field studies conducted in 1930 for the University of Pennsylvania Museum, during 1930–1931 as a Fellow of the Social Science Research Council of New York, and during 1938–1939 under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

But whether the many appearances have only one origin, or more than one, or several, is a problem for the future. The scanty data at hand come principally from ethnological sources, and by their nature are difficult to view in perspective. The flimsy structure of the Thread Cross precludes the finding of archæological specimens in most parts of the world, hence evidence of its prehistory will never be abundant. Yet it cannot be doubted that the Thread Cross enjoys considerable antiquity in many regions and that much light could be shed on the question of relationships between certain regions if knowledge of the derivations of some of the appearances could be obtained.

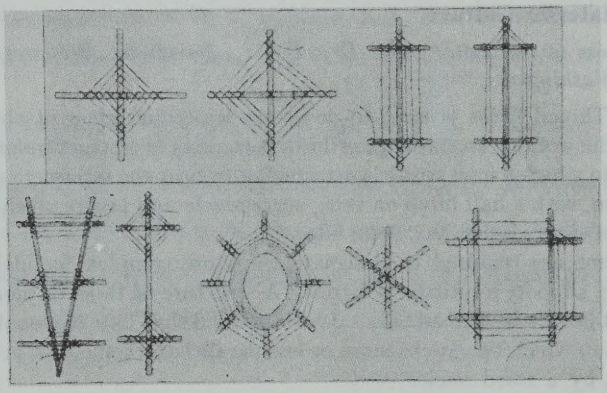


Fig. 1. *Types of Thread Cross structure. From left to right—Upper row : Thread Cross, Thread Cross with open centre, Thread Double Cross, Thread Double Cross with open centre. Lower row : Thread Double Cross complex, Thread Crosses in tandem (one with open centre), Thread Oval (headdress), Thread Star, Thread Rectangle (or Square).*
Drawings by Marion Duff.

The world-wide aspects of the Thread Cross problem have been pointed out by Foy. Although his treatise was published in 1913, few field-workers have provided new evidence, hence our knowledge is still fragmentary and spotty for every major area. However, his data seem to indicate that the simple Thread Cross is the common denominator in all parts of the world, although there are many differences in details and embellishments. The more elaborate structures and special decorative features appear to be localized in widely separated areas. The question of their classification is confused for, with few examples, it is uncertain whether the slight resemblances or the minor differences should be stressed.

In this paper we are concerned solely with the problem of the Thread Cross in Australia where it occupies a widespread distribution and exhibits a much greater range in form than has been reported for other continents or, in so far as Foy's meagre evidence indicates, in nearby New Guinea and the Sunda Chain. The recent ethnographical literature on Australia contains little information to supplement Foy's summary. The new data presented herein

are therefore primarily from the author's field notes from Western Australia obtained in 1938-1939 from old Aborigines and whites, principally in western and southern localities where Aboriginal culture has long since ceased to function. The evidence, although not rich in detail, establishes the approximate western and south-western limits of distribution and provides important data on the directions of spread and on the processes of diffusion. Presumably it is too late to secure comparable evidence along the eastern frontier, but it still

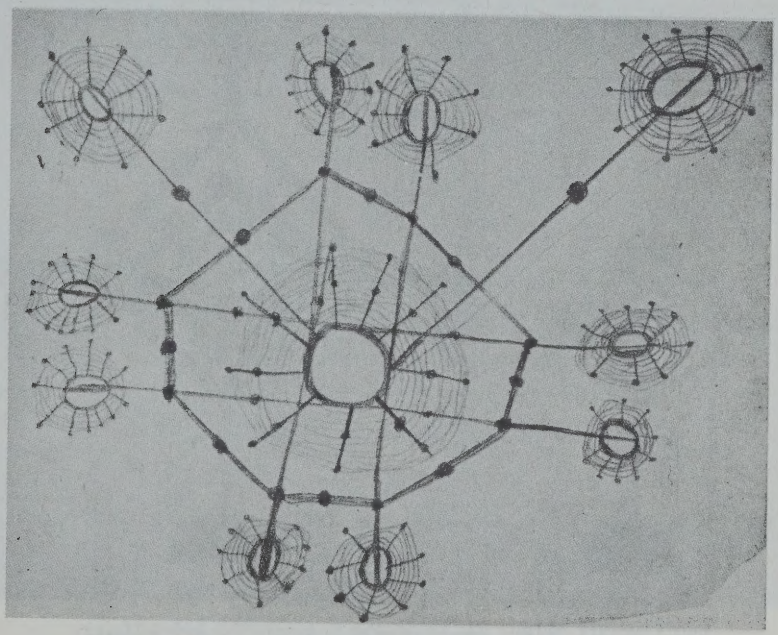


Fig. 2. A drawing of a Thread Oval Complex by an old Aborigine from the north-west at Moore River Reserve, Western Australia, and sent to the author without information on its significance after a visit in 1930. *Presumably it does not represent an actual specimen. At least none so elaborate has been reported. It is reproduced as a fanciful example of an ideal in Thread Oval artistry.*

should be possible to obtain important information on the history of the Thread Cross in western Central Australia and in north-eastern Western Australia where the present limits of distribution are found.

Although it is strange that more information on such an important ceremonial object as the Thread Cross has not been collected by ethnological field-workers, the paucity of museum specimens is understandable. This class of object is seldom to be seen in the possession of Aborigines except during ceremonies, after which they usually are destroyed or disassembled and the string preserved for future use. Furthermore their flimsy nature,

particularly in the larger examples, makes them difficult to transport without disarrangement of the strings and damage to the secondary decorative features applied to the surface of the string-work. As a result little is known about stylistic variation in any tribe or from tribe to tribe. Thus the distributions of special features which might reveal the important centres of elaboration cannot be indicated.

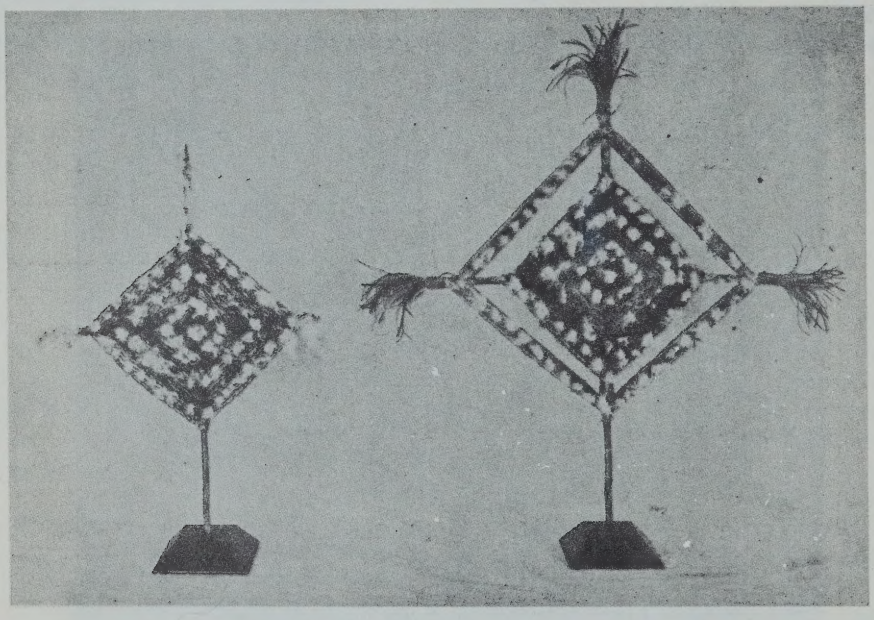


Fig. 3. Examples of Thread Cross artistry. Left: Luritja (Goanna totem). Right: Arunta (Rain totem). South Australian Museum.

Australian Forms

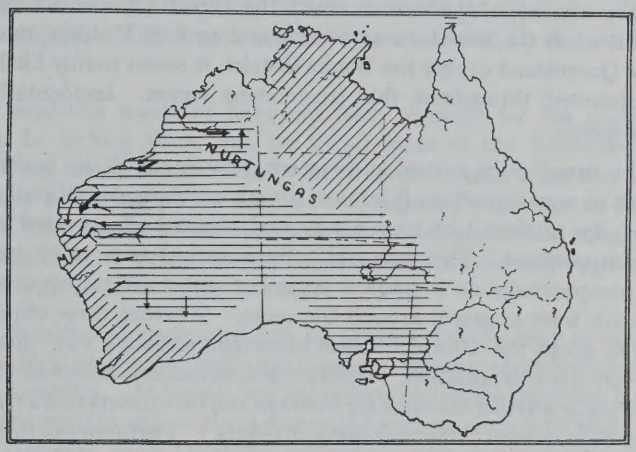
In Australia the term *waninga* or *waningi*[1] has become accepted as a general word for Thread Cross regardless of the specific form of the object. It is proposed that it be employed as a generic and collective designation and that the other terms be used for descriptive purposes and classification.

Most *waningas* are impressive artistic creations. String spun from opossum or bandicoot fur or human hair is employed either in natural colour or rubbed with red, yellow, white or

[1] The term *waninga* seems to be typical of southern Central Australia and part of adjacent South Australia. *Waningi* is used by the Djaru (eastern Kimberley) and is recognized in most of Western Australia, not only by tribes which possess the objects, but by their neighbours who lack them. Since the term is now used by Europeans in the *lingua França* spoken with aborigines, it is difficult to determine the extent of its aboriginal distribution. Other terms in use include *tjáluda-bàra* (Baiong), *kánbar* (Baiong and Talainji), *púnguna* (Injibandi), *wálaràdi* (Nyamal), *wálaràmbi* (Wanman), *kádawùgul* (Nangumarda), *ràba* (Targudi), *mílangba* (Targari who lack it), *mínmir-ràba* and *mínmir-àdi* (Kandari in Cue area), *yárba* (Bald Hill area, north-east of Peak Hill), *búnderdu, ínma* (Bardimaia at Mingenew who lack it).

black pigments to fill the field with concentric rhombuses of different colour. Over such a background masses, bands, or spots of white down often are applied, and feathers of various natural colours may be added, particularly as tufts at the ends of the structural arms.

In many if not most areas each *waninga* is associated with a particular totem, but it has not been determined whether the materials used in construction are limited by totemic considerations. Since the *waningas* of each type are made in the same manner, regardless of totemic affiliation, and all types of *waningas* are made of the same essential materials, it would seem that the fur, down and feathers lose the totemic association of their particular species



Map 1. *Distribution of* Waningas.

≡ Present. /// Lacking. Blank spaces, no information.
← Attested directions of spread of the simple Thread Cross.
Black Arrow=Attested directions of spread of the Thread Oval and complex forms.

once they are converted into raw materials for other purposes. However, as parts of the *waninga* structure they may be given symbolic values consistent with the totemic affiliation of the specimen. For example, in a particular water totem specimen described by Spencer and Gillen,* the red strings represent thunder; the white strings, lightning; uncoloured strings, falling rain. The white patches and bands of down denote clouds. The red colour of the attached feathers represents the dirty brown froth which sometimes floats on flood waters. Thus, as is the case in the incised designs on bullroarers and stone and wooden *churingas*, there is a consistency of motifs over a tremendous area but a variation in their interpretation not only from totem to totem but also from specimen to specimen within each totem.

The distribution of *waningas* is not perfectly known, but can be said to extend in general in a broad band from the north-west diagonally across the continent to western Victoria (see map 1). The northern limit apparently extends from the southern Kimberley district

* Spencer and Gillen, 1899, 308.

to southern central Australia and south-western Queensland. The southern boundary starts near the mouth of the Gascoyne River, seems to curve north-eastward, thence southward to cross the central Lyons and central Gascoyne Rivers, passes southward near and possibly west of Meekatharra, slightly west of Mount Magnet, north of but near Kellerberrin, and eastward to Southern Cross, Coolgardie, near the head of the Great Australian Bight, along the coast of South Australia to the Murray River, and inland to north-western Victoria (Wathi-wathi tribe).[2]

The eastern limits of distribution have not been accurately defined, either by positive identification or by mention of the areas in which the Thread Cross is lacking, but since these objects are not listed in the literature on central and eastern Victoria, most of New South Wales, and all of Queensland except the Boulia district, it seems hardly likely that they were present but undetected throughout this tremendous region. Incidentally, they are not reported for Tasmania.

However, the situation in central and eastern New South Wales is complicated by the use of such words as *warringooringa* (Clarence River), *warreengahle* (Kamilaroi) and *woongo-weera* (Wiradjuri), for saplings torn from the ground, sheared off, inverted and stuck back in the ground roots uppermost. They are said to have served as seats for medicine-men who exhibited their paraphernalia on important occasions such as initiation ceremonies. Sometimes strips of bark were arranged around the roots. Whether these objects represent the initial attempts to adopt the Thread Cross is uncertain, although Foy[3] does not hesitate to consider such a derivation established. Before this conclusion is accepted we should attempt to learn etymologically whether the stem for *waninga* and its variants had a meaning applicable both to stars and objects with projecting arms or points.[4] Furthermore there is an extensive region between southern central Australia on the one hand and central and north-eastern New South Wales and western Victoria on the other, in which the term *waninga* has not been reported but where other terms have been noted.[5] Nevertheless, the apparently slight resemblances in the significance of *waningas* and the root objects do suggest the possibility that the former in some unknown manner have influenced the latter, but more information from northern New South Wales and southern Queensland is required before this puzzling situation can be satisfactorily explained.

The Thread Cross has been reported in Torres Strait,[6] but in view of its apparent lack throughout north-eastern Australia it is to be presumed that this appearance has been derived from New Guinea and is not directly related to the continental distribution.

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[2] For a general summary of the literature see Foy, 68–75.

[3] Foy, 75.

[4] For instance, Mathews, R. H., *Folklore of the Australian Aborigines*, Sydney, 1899, 26 ff., which is not available for the author's consultation, but is cited by Foy, 75, gives *wareenggary* as the word for seven stars in the Clarence and Richmond Rivers area.

[5] In the Boulia district of south-western Queensland the Thread Cross is called *ta-ka-le* (Roth, 176). In South Australia the Dieri, Urabunna and Eyre Peninsula tribes know it as *piriltja*, *pariltja* and *palyertatta* respectively. The Stirling Report of the Board of Governors of the Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery of South Australia, 1907–1908, 22 (cited by Foy, 71); Spencer and Gillen, 1904, 286; Angas, description for Pl. 5: 2. What appears to be a Thread Double Cross constructed on a spear and called *koonteroo* in southern South Australia is illustrated by Angas, Pl. 24: 3.

[6] Haddon, II, 34–35.

The situation in central Australia also has some puzzling aspects. For the central and northern portions of the continent *waningas* are denied specifically from the northern boundary of the Arunta to the Gulf of Carpentaria and the Arafura Sea.[7] The Northern Arunta, however, are the southernmost tribe to possess the peculiar ceremonial objects called *nurtungas* which they use interchangeably with their *waningas*.[8] The distribution of *nurtungas* has not been defined but includes the Kaitish and Unmatjera to the north and north-west, who lack *waningas*, and apparently extends into the Kimberley district, where objects which seem to be equated with *nurtungas* are present, although they are not necessarily interchangeable with the local *waningas*. Since many important culture traits have spread southward in central Australia, the presently unanswerable question arises whether *waningas* were formerly used north of the Arunta and have been replaced by the southward spread of *nurtungas*.

In Western Australia *waningas* have not been reported for the northern Kimberley district and may be lacking there, but are found south of the Kimberley Range and in Dampierland.[9] They are denied specifically for the entire western and southern coasts from the Gascoyne River in the north-west to some undesignated point east of Esperance on the southern coast.[10] Their inland boundary, as already noted, apparently runs from the vicinity of the upper Minilya River to west of Mount Magnet, north of Kellerberrin, thence to Southern Cross, Coolgardie and on into South Australia.[11]

The general distribution as defined can be presumed to be that of the simple Thread Cross. This basic form may be the only type present in some western and southern peripheral areas in Western Australia. At least it was the only type readily identified from photographs by informants in the western and southern marginal locations along both sides of the boundary of distribution. However, since Aboriginal culture has been on the decline in these areas for two to three generations, or longer, the knowledge of many informants was frequently hazy on details. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the simple Thread Cross was recognized as a form which has been expanding its distribution westward, south-westward and southward until recent times in this part of the continent.

For the Esperance district, according to an old informant residing at Gnowangerup in 1939, the Thread Cross was first seen when he was a young man, presumably in the last decade of the nineteenth century, in the possession of visitors from Coolgardie who had come to perform ceremonies unknown locally.

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[7] Spencer, 210. Spencer and Gillen, 1899, 221; 1904, 339.

[8] *Nurtungas* are made in a variety of forms. The most common seems to be a column-like structure of from one to twenty spears bound together by hair girdles and usually decorated with eaglehawk feathers and rings of down. A short *nurtunga* may be suspended from the top or affixed to it to form a " T " or a cross. Others may be worn as headdresses.—See Spencer and Gillen, 1899, 627.

[9] Porteus, 57, specifically describes the simple Thread Cross.

[10] Denials were made by all informants for Carnarvon, Hamelin Pool, Geraldton, Mullewa, Mingenew, Perth, Busselton, Augusta, Albany, Warriup and Esperance, and inland in the south-west to beyond Gnowangerup, Quirading and Kellerberrin. See also Bates, 124.

[11] *Waningas* presumably are found further south than the Warburton Range, where they have been noted by Mountford, Pl. 6, E. For Mann and Tomkinson Ranges, north-western South Australia, see Tindale, 211.

The few Aborigines around Kellerberrin recognized the Thread Cross as belonging properly to tribes to their north but were uncertain whether it had been formally introduced to their locality.

In the Murchison district the Bardimaia at Mingenew, whose Aboriginal territory extended almost to Yalgoo, thence eastward to Payne's Find, stated that the Thread Cross belonged to ceremonies of the Aborigines at Mount Magnet which had been moving in their direction but had not yet been authorized for local performance.

In the north-west the evidence consistently indicates a derivation from points to the east. *Waningas* not only have spread via the coast to North-west Cape, thence southward past the Minilya River, and possibly to the lower Gascoyne, but have been coming down such rivers as the Ashburton, Lyons and upper Gascoyne. From the Noala in the Onslow area the Thread Cross reached the Talainji at North-west Cape, who in turn introduced it to the Baiong to their south. Information was not obtained to indicate whether it had reached the Maia on the northern side of the lower Gascoyne, but the Ingarda on the southern bank denied its possession and explained that they did not own the ceremonies with which it is associated. They considered the Noala as the nearest tribe properly authorized to conduct the ritual and thus did not recognize the geographically intermediate tribes to the north as qualified possessors. The Targari, neighbours of the Ingarda on the northern shore of the Gascoyne, just west of the Lyons River, also lack the Thread Cross which they associate with tribes further up the Lyons, presumably the Warienga, possibly the Wajeri. The Jiwali stated that *waningas* reached them from the upper Ashburton River.

The Nangumarda, along the northern coast east of the De Grey River, attribute their possession of the Thread Cross to the Wadji Kuthara, the two mythical culture heroes, and thus think of it as having come from the east.[12]

In the eastern Kimberley district the Djaru, who seem to be near the eastern limit of distribution in this part of the continent, said that the Thread Cross came to them from their southern neighbours.

Thus in the marginal areas of the north-west, the Murchison, and the south-west, the Aborigines who possess the Thread Cross usually have a very definite tradition or knowledge of whence it has come. Their outlying immediate neighbours who still lack it also are familiar with it, and in many cases recognize it as belonging to ceremonies they have not yet been ordained to perform but anticipate receiving in due course. This is an excellent example of the profound respect Australian tribes have for the proper authority to conduct copyrighted ceremonies and to make and use patented sacred objects. Under such conditions the spread of ceremonies may be a very slow process with an informal but quite a complete understanding of context diffusing ahead of formal permission to perform. It seems clear that not only decades but even generations may elapse before some possessors of ritual give their neighbours the proper authority to conduct. It is interesting to note that many Aborigines whose culture has long since been disrupted by European influences nevertheless spoke in the present tense in discussing the spread of ceremonies in their direction, implying that long delays were not unusual nor necessarily the result of European penetration.

[12] For other traits attributed to the Wadji Kuthara, see Davidson, 1949, 94, fn. 20.

The distributions of the other types of *waningas* cannot be indicated accurately. The Thread Double Cross is known to be widespread, being found in South Australia, central Australia,[13] and in Dampierland, including Sunday Island,[14] and the Murchison district of Western Australia.

The structures built around an open space, such as Thread Rectangles and the simple and complex Thread Ovals used as headdresses, seem to be concentrated in the northern part of Western Australia from near Carnarvon[15] on the west to the De Grey River, Dampierland,[16] and the eastern Kimberley district. Available evidence does not indicate that they have spread from inland. There is great variation in form, but the evidence is insufficient to define varieties or to give specific distributions. Whether they are present south of the upper Gascoyne remains to be determined.

The only specific evidence of the spread of these structures from a direction different from that of *waningas* was provided by the Djaru in the eastern Kimberley area, who stated that these complex forms, called *wúran:gu*, have come to them from the west. They are not prohibited to women as is the Thread Cross derived from southern neighbours.

In the north-west the general direction of spread has been westward, as in the case of the Thread Cross. Knowledge of diffusion southward is lacking. Thread Ovals and their elaborations thus seem to have come from the relatively small region between La Grange and the lower Fitzroy River, an area which suggests the possibility of overseas derivation. But unless it can be demonstrated that these peculiar objects formerly were present in the East Indies a local development from the simple Thread Cross seems a more likely explanation. Possibly they represent the influence of a foreign ceremonial headdress expressed in a Thread Cross technique.

In so far as the basic Thread Cross is concerned it has been noted that in Western Australia it too has spread westward from the La Grange area, as well as westward and southward from the central portions of the State. In South Australia and the western parts of New South Wales and Victoria the directions of diffusion have not been established by testimony, but a derivation from a north-western direction can be inferred from the marginal locations of these areas.

In central Australia the situation is not clear. More information is needed on the distribution and directions of spread of *nurtungas*. They and *waningas* serve similar purposes but their distributions overlap only in southern central Australia and adjacent north-eastern Western Australia. It is possible that *nurtungas* and *waningas* have spread south-eastward from the latter area over parallel routes, *nurtungas* to the north, *waningas* to the south. Such an explanation is plausible and in keeping with distributional evidence, but it cannot be confirmed by the data now at hand. But quite aside from the question of the *nurtungas*

[13] Spencer and Gillen, 1899, figs. 39, 57; McCarthy, 31, fig. 8, also illustrates unusual Thread Triangles.

[14] Basedow, Pl. 22.

[15] The Thread Square collected by Klaatsch, 792, near Carnarvon presumably was secured from tribes north of the Gascoyne. Ingarda informants denied the possession of *waningas* in general. Since the Baiong use *waningas*, it is quite possible that their southern neighbours, the Maia, also have them. The Maia live along the north bank of the lower Gascoyne, just across the river from Carnarvon. Possibly Baiong were visiting in the area at the time of Klaatsch's journey. See Davidson, 1937, fig. 67, *g*.

[16] Porteus, Pls. 4, 5B.

it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Thread Cross has spread westward, south-westward, southward and south-eastward, and in so far as the Djaru are concerned northward, from north-eastern Western Australia. Direct evidence that *waningas* spread from the coastal area between La Grange and Derby to the immediate hinterland is not available, but the distance is not great. This consideration and the scattered appearances of the Thread Cross in the larger islands of the East Indies and the Sunda Islands, as far east as Timor, provide adequate grounds for the conclusion that the Thread Cross has come from overseas, hence has spread southward from the coast.

The most common association of both the Thread Cross and the Thread Double Cross is with initiation ceremonies in south-western Queensland, northern and north-western South Australia, southern central Australia and presumably much of Western Australia. However, in some peripheral districts, such as southern South Australia and apparently in some of the western parts of both New South Wales and Victoria, their employment may have been more generalized, although the evidence is scanty and of uncertain value. In the Adelaide area they seem to have been used in the curing of disease. In addition, in most of the region from central Australia westward into Western Australia, if not in other localities, each specimen has a totemic affiliation, although little information is available on this point.

The initiation rite with which *waningas* are most closely identified is circumcision, but apparently not subincision. The historical significance of this relationship is not clear for the association seems to be marked by no greater fidelity than is to be noted between many other traits in the initiation complex of the continent, such as bullroarers, churingas, and various sacred designs, all of which are associated with circumcision, prominently in some cases, weakly in others, as well as with other initiation rites in the same or other localities.

In the north-west circumcision has been spreading westward in the wake of the Thread Cross and the Thread Oval but in 1939 had not passed the central Fortesque River. Similarly in south central South Australia and the adjacent parts of Victoria and New South Wales the distribution of *waningas* extends eastward for a considerable distance beyond the frontier of circumcision. Furthermore, if the peculiar root objects in central and north-eastern New South Wales are considered to have been inspired by the Thread Cross, *waninga* influences have penetrated several hundred miles beyond the practice of circumcision. On the other hand, the frontiers of circumcision extend far beyond the limits of the Thread Cross in the tremendous central and northern parts of the continent north of the Arunta, for a shorter distance in the northern Kimberley district, and for varying but minor distances in parts of western, south-western and southern Western Australia. In addition circumcision and *waningas* are present in the Adelaide area but are not reported as associated.

Thus the basic relationship between circumcision and the Thread Cross is uncertain. Do they have an old and deep-rooted association on the continent which has been broken in many peripheral areas because one or the other has become detached from its traditional context, as may happen when diffusion takes place rapidly, to spread ahead of its associate and be assigned a new meaning in the adopting area ? If so both the companion trait and the traditional context may follow into some localities in the course of time. However, the ability of either trait to detach itself and act independently denies the premise that their original association was very rigid. Or, is the prominent functioning relationship between circumcision and *waningas*, noted in such an extensive centralized distribution, a vogue which

became established in some locality and has been tending to spread into those areas where both are present and to accompany the two into certain new areas when both spread together ? Clues on the original context of the Thread Cross in Australia might be forthcoming if evidence of its significance in earlier times in the Sunda Islands could be obtained.

D. S. DAVIDSON.

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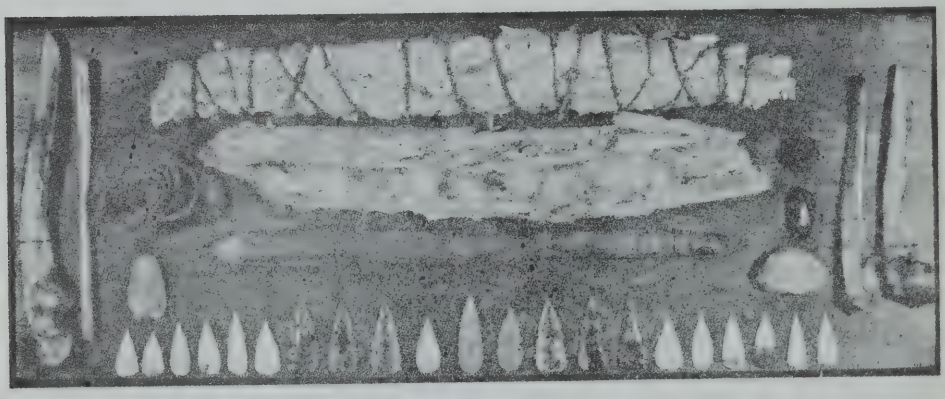
Australia : Material Culture. — Balfour

A Native Tool Kit from the Kimberley District, Western Australia. *By Mr. H. R. Balfour, Vice-President, Anthropological Society of Victoria.*

On the 5th June, 1933, I left Melbourne for Perth, where I arrived four days later. On the 16th June I left Perth by steamer for Broome. After spending less than a fortnight in Broome, I managed to obtain a passage by lugger to Pt. George IV. I made the Kunmunya Mission my headquarters from the 13th July to the 3rd August, and during this period I went out camping with the natives and watched them making some of the fine tools which are illustrated in the plate accompanying this article.

When a man of the Worora tribe, Kimberley district, Western Australia, goes hunting, he carries a number of spears. He also has a wallet, called a *bururu*, which he sticks in his hair belt. The wallet is made from the bark of the paper bark tree and is shaped roughly like a cigar. It contains the following articles : a smaller paper bark wallet, lined with bird's down ; a small piece of sandstone (*panarum*) ; a blunt hardwood stick (*karindjalp*) ; four pointed bones from a kangaroo, including femur (*tjurmba*) and smaller bone (*tizgalja*) ; a partly made biface point ; a number of completed spear points of agate, chalcedony, glass, etc. ; a sinew ; gum from the bloodwood tree ; and string made from the inner bark of the boabab tree.

In making pressure flaked biface points the above articles are used, as follows: (1) the rough piece of agate is flaked by the small piece of sandstone; (2) the large hardwood stick is used to pressure flake the stone till it roughly resembles a rose leaf; (3) the large pointed bone is used to pressure flake the stone right back to the centre of the stone on either side; (4) the small pointed bone is used to pressure flake the saw-like serrations on either side.



During processes (2), (3) and (4) the point is held on a piece of paperbark placed on a large block of sandstone, the paperbark being used to stop the concussion, as a great amount of energy is required to do the flaking. The point is tied to the spear with the sinew and it is also stuck on with gum.

The wallet as illustrated, complete with all its contents, was given to me by a native with whom I had become friendly.

I sent some biface points made by the Worora tribe to the British Museum and the reply came back that they were the most beautiful spear points made by any natives in the world.

H. R. Balfour.

Australia: Social Anthropology. **Neville.**

The Half-Caste in Australia. *By A. O. Neville, Esq., Former Commissioner of Native Affairs for Western Australia.*[1]

To-night we are to consider briefly the case of that section of our native population generally called half-caste. In Western Australia, half-castes and other mixed bloods of Aboriginal origin except quarter-castes are legally termed "native," while in the rest of Australia they are in law termed Aboriginal, half-caste or half-blood in proportion to their kinship to ourselves.

In point of fact, none being purely Aboriginal, the majority are true half-bloods and the offspring of half-bloods, the balance being those having a proportion of both European, Aboriginal or other mixed blood to a greater or lesser degree, though the near white predominates over the near Aboriginal.

[1] Address delivered before the Anthropological Society of Victoria on April 12th, 1950.

In spite of some Asiatic and Pacific influence, particularly in earlier years, alien infiltration all along has been predominately European, so that to-day we have a people more nearly akin to ourselves than to any other race, not excepting the Aborigines who first supplied the female progenitors of the coloured people we are considering.

In the Northern Territory and all the Australian States except Queensland the infiltration of other than European blood has been negligible—some Asiatic in places like Broome and Darwin—and a little negro influence in the southern States. The former is due to the introduction of Malays, Chinese and other Asiatics into the pearling and mining industries, much of it in pre-Federation days, and the latter owing to the custom of our immigrant forbears in bringing with them negro servants from places at which they touched on the long voyage to Australia by sailing ship. During the recent war the presence of Negro servicemen in Australia has been somewhat detrimental to the stability of the Euro-Australian cross, especially in New South Wales.

For want of a better term, I prefer to designate those we are discussing as the " COLOURED " people of Australia until such time as they become culturally qualified to assume fully our Australian way of life and because, for their protection and control during the process of assimilation, we must have some specific designation for them.

It is to Queensland, however, that we must look for any serious trend towards the creation of a racial mixture other than of the Euro-Australian type.

There the importation, long since discontinued, of Pacific Islanders, mostly of Melanesian stock, to work in the sugar plantations, at first produced a marked effect. But just before the recent war it was estimated that approximately only one-eighth of the total mixed bloods in Queensland were partly Asiatic, Melanesian or Polynesian. By that time the procreation of children by alien fathers other than European had almost ceased, while the majority of children were being born to half-caste, or Aboriginal-half-caste parents.

Thus it is seen that while these former tendencies towards the instability of the cross have diminished and will in a short while disappear, there is an increasing lean towards the European both by choice and design.

A study of Australian history discloses that the people of the Aborigines not of the full-blood have been all along associates of the white man rather than of the black. This association grows closer through the years. The patrilineal affinity has superseded the matrilinear even though fatherhood has so frequently been unacknowledged.

Regarding his white associates as following a superior way of life to that of his Aboriginal kin, the coloured man has clung to the outskirts of the white community, while the Aboriginal has ostracized him because by reason of that very association he cannot exercise power over him. The acceptance of the coloured man into the tribe has not been permitted because, except in the very early years, he has not been subject to the man-making rites imposed by the Aborigines as essential to initiation. The black man's power has progressively declined, while that of the white man has increased. Thus through time the coloured man has lost the useful controlling influence of the moral law of the blacks and has accepted the looser morality of those of the white community with whom it has been his lot mostly to be associated. He has recognized his loss but has regarded it as inevitable.

How we assisted towards the coloured man's ostracism is obvious and scarcely needs stressing. It began with the acquisition of the Aboriginal women by white men and continued through casual employment in the field, pastoral station and home, and in indifferent institutional and Mission training. The imposed application of our way of life upon the coloured man has so far done little to remove his sense of social ostracism, because it has never been either universal or of a high standard. His character has been formed in a hard school under adverse conditions. We have used his physical resources for our own ends, but have neglected his mental powers and cultural training.

We must remember, too, that the history of the coloureds dates back only to the coming of the whites to Australia. They are a people without tradition, lacking culture, spiritual inheritance or guidance of their own.

Through all the years of wonderful expansion in Australia, the coloured people have gone with fear in their eyes and hearts. Their first fears were of the true Aborigines engendered by distorted cultural inhibitions, next, of us and our often brutal methods, and then of one another. Often "knowing fear where no fear was," a sense of inferiority has remained with them all along.

Inheriting some of the passionate excitability and intensity of feeling of the Aborigines, they have been apt to resent the well-intentioned approaches even of their white friends, while ridicule has produced suicidal tendencies.

Most of us know of the physical conditions which encompassed these people for so long and from which so many of them still suffer. These conditions have produced characteristics of indolence, furtiveness, untruthfulness, instability and moral delinquency, traits which disappear in proportion to our attention to their needs, both physical and mental. The half civilized mind needs cultural food of a type we can readily supply to produce the way of life we would wish it to adopt. We are also aware of a contrary picture pointing the way to enlightenment and progress. We have already seen this successfully at work in isolated instances, proving first that our help and encouragement is necessary, and secondly if supplied with goodwill and equity the goal is attainable.

Some centuries of Colonial expansion by European peoples produced racial types now far too numerous and established to be classed as half-breeds, half-castes, mulattos and the like, and many of whom have achieved their "place in the sun."

The intrusion of the British, French and other European peoples into North America, Canada, the Pacific, New Zealand and Australia brought with it the impact of a social system upon the indigenous peoples of those territories which they were unable to withstand or absorb and against which they sometimes fought. This initially almost led to their extinction. But miscegenation and other factors maintained a sort of balance, preventing total extinction and finally helping to turn the scale. This, coupled with a new outlook on the part of the European element since the turn of this century, has resulted in these peoples not only maintaining their status but definitely increasing in numbers. They have increased in proportion to the degree of assistance, instruction and enlightenment the European has been prepared to bestow upon them and their willingness to accept such help.

In their earlier protective legislation, the Parliaments in those States of Australia containing the largest numbers of Aborigines decreed that marriage between an Aboriginal

woman and other than an Aboriginal should be a matter for official consent, a consent then seldom given. At that time nearly all coloureds were deemed legally to be Aborigines.

Since Federation, the legal and actual separation of more and more coloureds from the Aborigines has taken place, necessitating for reasons I need not enter into here the passing within the past two decades of further legislation designed to prevent unauthorized marriages also between coloureds and others taking place. The ethnic effect of such legislation will be appreciated for its stabilizing effect upon the Euro-Australian cross, particularly in those States having the foresight to adopt these provisions.

There are amongst us those who see in this a sinister design to prevent our coloureds choosing partners not of our blood and who resent this in view of the trend of thought towards other peoples in this modern age. These should bear in mind that, excepting ourselves, there are few members of other races available to unite with our coloureds, now present in Australia, and that both upon genetic and economic grounds we should encourage intermarriage if such be the intention, with ourselves first and others as a last resort—but of course intermarriage between members of their own caste will naturally predominate.

But miscegenation was rife from the earliest days and laws made to check it were mostly ineffective until recent times, when the necessity had lessened as regards the full-bloods. These laws also were strengthened with an eye to their ethnic effect upon the Euro-Australian people, to save young coloureds from the pitfalls and disasters always awaiting them and to ensure the efficient care of the offspring of illicit unions.

At the Canberra Conference upon Aboriginal Welfare in 1937, when I was speaking on the ethnic question with special relation to marriage as it affected coloureds, someone interjected : " You cannot stop them from having babies even if they don't marry." My reply, *inter alia*, was that such did occur as the result of half-castes mingling with whites—but " *that it did not matter very much.*" I have been taken to task by certain religious authorities because of the last few words of that sentence, but I remain unrepentant ! Obviously I inferred that the Euro-Australian child, in that case a quarter-caste, that is a three-part-white, was preferable to a three-part-black, since our peoples were destined to be integrated !

Certain increase-promoting causes ought to be mentioned so far as they affect our own coloured people. The first, known as differential fertility, refers here to the ability of cross-bred undernourished parents to produce numerous children. The second is our generous child endowment system, which is having the same effect. The more children born, the better the family is able to live without strenuous exertion ! Malnutrition through undernourishment of course disappears in proportion to the social services and employment offering, both freely available to-day.

Whereas in earlier days our attempts at amelioration were purely charitable, spasmodic, very ineffectual and merely designed to succour a supposedly *dying* people, the commendable measures introduced since the turn of the century, and particularly during the past twenty-five years both officially, through religious bodies and interested societies, have been designed to infuse into a *living* people the desire, with our help, to adapt themselves to our way of life.

These factors have enabled our coloureds to partly replace the disappearing full-blood Aboriginal since the beginning of this century and so maintain the average numbers of the people of the Aborigines. There is every likelihood that before the close of this century the coloureds will far outnumber the blacks, whom they are rapidly overtaking.

For the coloureds it has been and still is an uphill fight. The burden of ineptitude is still being carried. They know it, just as we know that while we have accomplished a good deal on their account we have as yet not done nearly enough, and our people generally are only just beginning to wake up to the fact that there is a task to be undertaken. Further, the people of Australia are far from being agreed as to whether the policy of absorption now officially accepted is the correct one, thinking as they do of its effects upon themselves first and the subjects of our consideration last. We shall return to this later.

We now come to the question of how best to stimulate our efforts towards removing the coloured man from his ignominious position in Australia, as well as enlisting the goodwill of our own people.

We still have no national plan, and there are differences in approach, outlook and law as between the States themselves and Federal controlled territory, together with a generally disinterested public. Our coloureds are the same people throughout the mainland of Australia yet separated by State barriers and distinctions, and to me it seems vital that the whole question should be viewed upon a co-ordinated national plane, because that is the first essential to the promotion of the process of orderly integration. Here is a people to be adapted physically and mentally to our way of life, and that on an infinitely higher plane than in the pursuit of the preconceived ideas of the past. True some of these people have emerged into our society without our direct aid, but mainly lacking that fitness so essential to a process which in such circumstances will not bear continued repetition without detriment to the whole mass, and spoil their chance of complete integration while also being capable of destroying the harmony of our relations with them. Haphazard, unguided social contacts do not of themselves supply the elements vital to integration.

Where then are we to look for examples to be followed in this task of integration? We may accept the present-day benign treatment of the Maoris, Polynesians, Indians in America and Canada as exhibiting right trends in raising these people to a position approaching parity with their former oppressors. But I think we must look elsewhere for patterns of conduct to be avoided rather than followed, if we really mean to succeed. We may well shrink from the pitfalls brought about by the age-long idea of racial superiority as exhibited for instance in the case of the Cape coloureds in South Africa and the Negro in the United States of America. We can learn many lessons from the history and position of these peoples to-day, bearing in mind that failure to do so will bring about in due time in Australia exactly the same terrific problems now facing the European peoples in these other countries, problems which are considered practically insoluble. Moreover, the time to face the task is now, when the numbers we have to deal with here are fortunately few and the cost correspondingly small.

The Cape Coloureds or Eurafricans

The Union of South Africa has a population of nearly twelve million, of whom two million odd are Europeans and nearly a million are what are known as Cape coloureds, the remainder being native Africans and some Asiatics, mainly Indian. But the Cape coloureds nearly all reside in the Cape Province of the Union.

Since the Dutch first settled at the Cape in 1652, just under three hundred years ago, the Europeans of the Cape Province have grown to 870,795 and the coloureds 829,550. But when the British acquired the Cape in 1806 the population comprised only 26,000 whites,

30,000 slaves and some 20,000 Hottentots. It can be seen then that since the first Dutch occupation the mixed peoples of the Cape Province, exclusive of the native African who was a newcomer from the north, have almost run parallel with the European population.

There has been miscegenation in other parts of the Union, mainly between the Bantu people and the Europeans. Of these coloureds there are 60,000 in the Transvaal, and in Natal about half that number, with some in the Orange Free State. Actually the Cape coloureds are a mixture of Dutch, British, imported Negro slaves, Bushmen, Hottentots, Malays and Javanese. In the early years the slaves and the Hottentots predominated as the ancestors of the coloureds. The Hottentots, who with the Bushmen were the indigenous people of the Cape, had light yellow-brown or red-brown skin, peppercorn hair and high cheek bones. They lived in mud huts, kept cattle and sheep, and were ruled by chiefs until incoming whites took their land and displaced them, introduced diseases and gradually killed them off, but some few Hottentots still remain in the western part of the Province. Some few of the Cape coloureds have crossed the colour line and escaped into the white population, and many of the white families also have coloured blood in their veins.

The Cape coloureds seem to be jammed between the Europeans and the native Africans, the tendency being to regard them as natives, and their one great fear is that they too will be segregated when " apartheid " is applied to the Africans. They are steadily being passed out of all the skilled trades and are mostly employed as field and domestic workers though there are some in shops, offices and factories. The official attitude is that these people conform to European habits and mode of living, but their classification with Europeans is a thing of the past and their plight, in Capetown particularly where the majority of them reside, is pitiable. Living conditions are bad and there is much disease amongst them.

As for education, it is only recently that government schools have been established for non-Europeans and some 70% of the coloured population is still illiterate. In earlier days Missionaries supplied some education. Some of these missionaries, mostly foreigners, taught the people to accept their inferior status, while the English missionaries taught the equality of man. The result of this is that many of these people demand equal rights with the whites while others are content to merely press for the improvement of their lot. Coloured teachers must possess a standard VIII certificate and a teacher's certificate obtained after a two years training course. Coloureds may attend the Universities of Capetown, Johannesburg and the University Colleges at Durban and Pietermaritzburg, though they are not welcomed in the social sporting life of the Universities. Non-Europeans, however, are rigidly excluded from the Africaans-speaking Universities of Stellenbosch and Pretoria. The subsidy allowed per head for educating a European is £16 odd, but for a non-European less than a third of that.

In 1842 all non-Europeans within the boundaries of Cape Colony were given the same rights before the law as other people. However colour prejudice increased and the position of the Cape coloureds has steadily deteriorated through time. When the Cape was granted a Constitution by Queen Victoria in 1863, coloured persons or Africans, provided they had certain property and salary qualifications, might exercise the franchise.

In 1872 responsible government was granted, and thereafter there was much competition for the native vote. Twenty years later an Act was passed compelling applicants for registration as voters to sign their names in the presence of the registering official, which at once

reduced the number of non-European voters, but it did have the effect of causing the coloureds and natives to endeavour to acquire the ability to write their names.

Upon the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 the existing franchise for non-Europeans was retained, but they lost their right to be elected to Parliament. Actually no coloured man had ever been returned to Parliament, but the coloureds used their votes to ensure that those whites whom they considered would best represent them should secure safe seats in Parliament.

So far as the native African is concerned all that has been changed by the Hertzog Acts of 1936, and three European Members now represent the interests of the natives in the Cape Province in the Union Parliament and Senators similarly elected represent their interests in the Senate. The Parliamentary franchise is only exercised by Europeans, except in the Cape Province, where some of the *male* coloured people have a vote.

Marriage between full-blood slaves and whites was prohibited as long ago as 1685, but miscegenation continued.

In 1945 a Bill was introduced into the South African Parliament designed to prohibit marriage between Europeans and non-Europeans. This was intended to implement the Government's policy of racial segregation between black and white in South Africa. Whether it became law or not I do not know, but it appears that under the South African Mixed Marriages Act a European man may not now marry a coloured woman.

There is other legislation which discriminates against the coloureds and weighs them down and their plight, in Capetown especially, where living conditions are bad, is deplorable.

It does seem tragic that after three hundred years these Cape coloureds, who though somewhat improvident possess the characteristics of industry, obedience, respect and willingness to accept their inferior status, should be drawing further and further apart from their European neighbours under a system which relegates them to the underpaid, poverty-stricken and diseased condition in which they now seem to find themselves. There seems to be less hope for them than there is for the Negro in America, with whose case we shall next deal.

The American Negro

The position of the Negro in America has been the subject of innumerable books by many types of writers including not a few Negroes. One of the latest books on the subject is " The American Dilemma," by Gunnar Myrndal. This study of the Negro problem and modern democracy has been recently condensed by Arnold Rose, Associate Professor of Sociology in Washington, St. Louis, into a book entitled " The Negro in America." This work more or less epitomises a great deal of what has been said by previous writers, and from reading it one gains a clear picture of the existing position, though it seems to me from the implications contained in it any means of solving the social riddle is still far from clear. The book is copyright and one cannot freely quote it here in consequence, but I do not think I shall be committing a breach of author's etiquette if I refer in an address of this nature to some of the points and statements made in it. In view of the nature of my subject, I hope I may claim so much indulgence, though all that follows is by no means taken from Rose's book.

When America declared her independence of Great Britain she already possessed 600,000 slaves imported from Africa. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the slaves had

increased to 900,000, and though it became a crime to bring slaves into the United States after 1808 the trade still continued until 1862, when it was abolished by the Federal Government under the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln.

To-day the descendants of the original Negro slaves number over 14,000,000, of whom some four-fifths live in the southern American States and one-fifth in the northern States. It is important to remember this because the treatment of the Negro in the north differs from what it is in the south, and those who live in the north, and to a certain extent the west, are actually those who endeavoured to escape from the conditions under which the southern people had suffered for so long.

Now you naturally think of the Negro in Africa as of a definite fixed type, but that is not altogether so because even he presents variations of racial mixture. But in the United States he is really a blend of the three great races, the Negro, Caucasian and Mongolian.

Dr. Herskovits, of the United States North-western University, has estimated that 71% of the Negro American population to-day has some white ancestry. There may be added to this over 27% of American Indian blood. Now so white are many of these Negroes that some 2% of them pass over to the white side yearly, but this does not appear to be completely advantageous in existing social circumstances because of its dangers and the isolation of individuals—moreover it is declining in consequence. This is finely illustrated in a recent film called "Lost Boundaries."

In America many whites possess Indian ancestry, which is not seen as any detriment. In fact some of the best families proudly trace their descent from the Indian girl known as Princess Pocahontas, who married an Englishman named John Rolfe in the early days of settlement in Virginia. But if you have Negro blood in your veins the matter is regarded differently, and such an one is at once classed as a Negro, just as we are now condemning many people who have a little Aboriginal blood in their veins to be classed as Aborigines. The Negroes, although they like to be called Negroes, are in fact mostly Mulattos, and science refers to them as such.

Rose says that the concept of the American Negro is a social concept, not a biological one. That is to say that even considerable changes in the genetic composition of the Negro people is likely to leave social problems unchanged. Certain differences are grossly exaggerated and not checked by scientific research. But the overriding fear seems to be that intermarriage may take place and there is a firm determination on the part of the whites to block amalgamation and to "preserve the purity of the white race."

Another writer, Ethel Alpenfals, says there is no evidence that intermarriage is increasing with the increase in friendliness towards Negroes that has marked parts of American society in recent years, because as fear and insecurity is lifted through economic conditions, so is removed the advantage the minority group might gain through intermarriage. She says further that intermarriage is a red herring drawn across the path of understanding among races. It blocks our thinking on other issues such as housing, employment and education. It keeps us from constructive action.

Rose speaks of the "split in the American personality," the urge for equality of opportunity, fair play and free competition as deeply implanted in the nationally approved social morals of America. Such sentiments are apparently at variance with actuality and the most important bridge between the American creed and actual practice in the economic sphere is

of course racial beliefs such as biological inferiority. All men are equal, but Negroes are not men and are looked upon in the economic sphere as inherently inferior as workers and consumers. The Negro was created to be only a servant or labourer employed for menial, dirty, heavy, badly paid work! From their own achievements we know that to be a totally incorrect picture.

Booker Washington, who wrote " The Story of the Negro " and who was himself " born in slavery," wrote that the Negro was the only race that had been able to look the white man in the face during any long period of years and not only live but multiply. That was written nearly fifty years ago, since when, because of his speedy advance both in material things and culturally, he has certainly justified the claim, but all along he has suffered extraordinarily and he still lives as a race apart, even though he may claim to be a citizen of the United States like any other resident.

From the beginning of their history in the United States of America, and particularly since their emancipation, the story discloses growing discrimination of every kind. This has made the Negroes, particularly in the south, sullen and dissatisfied, but has developed an exclusionist policy combined with a bitter race pride. Because of his treatment he has created a cushion of self-culture and passivity between himself and the white man.

I have said that most of the Negroes live in the southern States, where there is discrimination in every walk of life.

In the north there is discrimination, but it takes a somewhat different form. There the Negroes live in segregated areas, but the whites have no solidarity interest against the Negroes. Direct contact occurs only through leaders, and except for these leaders they see each other as stereotypes.

In the north, for instance, education is open to all children equally but, after finishing school, opportunities are not open to the Negroes, and this breeds segregation.

Although the American Supreme Court has decreed that education must be " equal but separate," it has hitherto discriminated in favour of the whites, the difference being mainly in school grants, teachers' salaries and the teachers are mainly Negroes. The standard of education for Negroes is not equal to the standard for white schools and colleges. Teaching at a lower level has been deliberate, because the whites desire to keep the Negroes ignorant. Of course we know the tremendous amount the Negroes have accomplished towards educating themselves, in establishing schools and colleges, granting subsidies and so on, and a few of the American universities, including Harvard, accept Negro students. But generally speaking in the professions Negro standards are not equal to white standards, and the Negro professional man finds himself only able to practise his profession amongst his own people. Education acquired in this way seems to create distrust between Negroes themselves, that is between upper and lower class Negroes. Too much education is said to meet with suspicion.

All along there have been and are still State compulsory segregation laws. Some of these are designed to prevent the Negro exercising the franchise. Others to prohibit intermarriage with whites. Intermarriage is in fact prohibited by law in all southern States, and also in several of the western States, but even in those States where there is no such law there is in practice little intermarriage because social ostracism becomes intolerable. Even the Negroes ostracize mixed couples.

Nevertheless there is miscegenation, which again is a one-sided matter. The white male may freely associate with the Negro female, but should the male Negro so much as speak to a white woman except on business, he stands a chance of being imprisoned, if not lynched.

In the north some eighteen States have Civil Rights Acts providing penalties against public institutions excluding Negroes, but these laws are evaded.

In the southern living areas, particularly in the big towns, great masses of Negroes live and work in the lowest paid occupations. They are also largely employed in agriculture, but cheap European labour has displaced numbers and unemployment is high.

White-collar jobs are barred because of social considerations. The machine is displacing Negroes because skilled white workers are required to work them, and the Negro has not an opportunity to become a skilled worker. Tradition dictates that he is not capable of handling machines, running a business or learning a profession.

There is segregation in schools, churches, hotels, restaurants, theatres and in any public places where people meet socially. In the case of theatres and other meeting places there are separate entrances for the whites and blacks, and it is just as much a social offence for a white to use a black's entrance as *vice versa*. Coloureds in business houses and stores must use the back stairs or fire escapes. They must use separate lifts. Whites must be served first.

The story is told of a noted Negro singer who, while on tour, managed to obtain entrance to a hotel for whites, but only on condition that she went straight to her room and remained there while in residence.

Then, right through the south, Negro and white dancing together is forbidden, whether a partner be male or female ; even in the north it seldom happens. Swimming together is taboo. Then there are degrees of courtesy such as the way in which you address a Negro. You can please yourself whether you call him or her Mr., Mrs., Dr., Professor or Teacher as may be, or merely Jake, Boy, Uncle, Auntie or Nigger, and so on, however cultured he may be, and he seldom gets a courtesy title used by the whites. Shaking hands is a matter of choice on the part of the white. The Negro may not offer his hand unless invited to do so. Then your Negro visitor must enter by your back door, but the white may enter the Negro's home by the front door and even without knocking. He need not remove his hat, neither need he stand up when a Negro woman enters a room, but Negroes must stand in his presence.

Associations for civic, religious, political, economic or merely getting together purposes will not admit Negroes, even the Red Cross Society discriminates against them. In only one direction, that is in music and the arts, do Negroes fare a little better. Of musicians engaged, some 5% are Negroes. Discrimination extends even to those parts of towns occupied by Negroes. The civic authorities spend less on public services, such as garbage clearances, sanitary services, streets and roads in such areas as compared with areas occupied by whites.

Rural hospital facilities are totally inadequate, though out-patients fare better. Penal settlements are on a low level, whites and Negroes being segregated. There are no reformatories for erring Negro youth, who must needs be herded with criminals.

The old Jim Crow Laws are still in operation in the south ; that is to say, separate seating accommodation is provided for Negroes in transport vehicles and trains.

I surely need not pursue instances of discrimination further. The fact is that though the Constitution grants equal protection of the law to the Negro and offers him citizenship

through the franchise, laws passed by the States have abrogated all the privileges which the Constitution gave the Negro as an American citizen.

President Truman, like the late President F. D. Roosevelt, has taken up the cudgels on behalf of the Negroes; the idea being that these preventative legal powers which the States exercise should be arrested and corrected by Federal legislation with a view to placing the Negro in the position in the social scale to which he is, as a free American, entitled.

Many people, of course, agree with this idea because, under pressure, attitudes are undergoing drastic changes. But the mass of American opinion is firmly behind the measures causing discrimination against the Negro. However, the world outlook seems to make a change of heart essential, and although the American trend is to see hope in future relations, it is admitted infinite time is required.

Our Duty to our Coloureds

Now let us revert to the consideration of our own problem of coloured relationships. The United States of America and the Union of South Africa have reached a very difficult stage in their race relations after some 300 years of varying contact. We, on the other hand, beginning the task of nation building much later, have been in association with our Aboriginal people for something over half that time, and with their descendants, the coloureds, for a hundred years or less—considerably less since the numbers assumed anything of a problem at all. But having ourselves created a minority problem, are we just to sit back and watch it grow as it has elsewhere until in course of time it too will have become insoluble? It is for us in this generation to decide that, particularly in the light of current world events.

In north Australia our Aborigines are said to be increasing because improved care is ensuring security. Whether that is so or not, it is of supreme importance that our attitude both to them and to their descendants, our so-called coloureds, should be formalized throughout Australia. We need to agree as a united people whether the coloureds are to go forward with us or revert to a closer association with their full-blood kin on a segregated basis, bringing about in the latter event a condition of affairs approximating social relations in South Africa and the United States of America.

I have no case against the full-bloods. Theirs is, at the moment, a somewhat different problem. They are useful people whose advancement should run on suitable lines comparable with our own.

But looking at the picture as a whole, I believe that those of the coloureds who are now ready for assimilation should be admitted to our social life as equals, enjoying all the privileges and amenities we ourselves enjoy, and that the less fortunate and depressed sections should be encouraged and assisted to the ultimate attainment of that end.

Surely it is not necessary for our coloureds in future to go through the travail experienced in the past by other coloured races as well as themselves?

Through the years of difficult racial contacts in South Africa, the United States of America and to some extent in Australia, there have been many champions of this and that course designed to improve relationships. These may be considered under three main headings:

(1) Total segregation.

(2) The "separate but equal" idea which we call "parity."

(3) Assimilation or absorption.

I do not think we need spend much time in considering the first. The policy of the present Union of South Africa Government appears to lie in segregation, termed " apartheid." Since this constitutes a political problem of the government of a sister dominion involving nearly nine million natives of various types, I only desire to venture the opinion that segregation, meaning complete separation of the white and black races, in the Union does appear to be utterly impossible, for the same reason as it does in the United States of America and in Australia. In all three countries the coloured and native people are employed in serving white interests to almost as great an extent as they are serving their own, surely making such a course impracticable. In the United States and in Australia total segregation is not considered seriously in these days, and of course in South Africa it may be that it is not contemplated in the case of the coloureds as distinct from the native Africans.

Total segregation was seriously considered for our native people not so many years ago but the idea was abandoned, not only on scientific grounds but also because of the immense cost which would be involved in raising the coloured man to a social plane equivalent to ours without attempting any form of integration between the races. It would have meant putting the clock back and overlooking completely the progress time has brought in the case of the coloured races generally. Had it been adopted there is little doubt that it would not have fulfilled its object, and it would merely have meant sending the native people back to primitive conditions, or at best to the imitation of a way of life followed by ourselves but only partly understood by them—and bear in mind that discrimination results from segregation. It should be apparent, too, that miscegenation and its results effectively dispose of arguments in favour of complete segregation.

The second course, visualizing a " separate but equal " position for all coloured people in our midst, implies raising the coloured man to the social and cultural plane common to all, but again it does not contemplate the integration of the races.

The United States particularly has endeavoured to foster this idea, but so far it has not worked out effectively in either of the three countries with which we are concerned, because it has never been wholeheartedly attempted. On the contrary it has hitherto been ensured by custom, law and discrimination of all kinds that the coloured man, or Negro, shall not enjoy the same social or cultural amenities as the white. Indeed it has been by deliberate action that he has been kept on a lower plane in all things. History has unfortunately declared these people to be subservient races, and modern democracy has so far determined to keep them so.

Is " parity " without integration a possibility here in Australia ? I cannot see it so. There must be some crossing from either side, as indeed there is already. As the coloureds improve their status through education assisted necessarily by our efforts, and the gradual adoption of our cultural life, so of necessity there must follow a measure of integration. Education of itself lowers social barriers just as it increases dissatisfaction amongst the coloureds in respect to their inferior position.

Our native peoples have not hitherto learned much of the troubles of similar people in other parts of the world but are beginning to do so now, and it can be credited to them that so far none has turned to incitement of a dangerous kind but there have been stirrings, only needing leaders to fan the flames. It is we whites who have hitherto expressed dissatisfaction with the condition of the coloureds rather than these people themselves.

Let us assume that, say in fifty years time or less, our coloureds attain a culture comparable with our own. What scope would there be for coloured persons with high educational qualifications, except in a limited way amongst their own people ?

Surely parity of itself is not enough, and would tend to become unworkable and expensive because of the necessary duplication in almost every walk of life if properly undertaken.

It would not answer here any more than it has answered elsewhere, because of inescapable discrimination, and of course it also implies social segregation.

So we come to the third plan—that is assimilation or absorption.

Now by assimilation is meant the complete social and cultural fusion of the lesser into the greater, therefore tending as the years go by to the ultimate disappearance in this case, of the coloured people. To achieve this objective time is of course needed, because progress will be gradual.

Assimilation might be achieved without parity, but parity is necessary if assimilation is to be successful. For a time, if we do the job properly, there will be two races pursuing a similar way of life living side by side until a common degree of culture is attained. That must be the precedent to real assimilation.

Professor Hoernle of the Pretoria University, writing in his book " South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit," says that " if the process of acculturation continues the result will be two races but only one type of culture. The nearer South Africa comes to this result the weaker will be the argument that dominance of white over black is necessary and justified."

Assimilation in relation to the coloured people of the United States of America or the Union of South Africa seems to be out of the question at present, and therefore we need not discuss it in relation to those countries. Here in Australia, however, most thinkers are agreed that it presents the best solution of our problem, and there is yet time to implement it.

It was officially agreed in Canberra in 1937 that the destiny of the coloured people lay in their ultimate absorption by the people of the Commonwealth, and that *all efforts should be directed to that end.*

Since then we have improved our methods in several directions, but if we continue on the existing lines we shall be in danger of creating a difficult position.

The realistic outlook of some few of us to-day is not sufficiently widespread. Though official opinion is becoming more stabilized, assimilation is still regarded as a somewhat vague dream of the future, and efforts towards its attainment in some States are half-hearted. Politically there is now and then some talk on these lines, but when examined it is often found that individually, politicians being more concerned with the interests of their constituents, are not interested enough to consider its implications, or well enough informed to realize what assimilation really means.

Then there are people concerned with the colour aspect, forming by far the largest body of opinion. These are reluctant to accept any change in the status of the coloured people which will bring them into equal association with themselves. These argue, too, that this policy is wrong fundamentally and can never succeed, but they overlook the fact that there is going on all the time under our very eyes absorption of a kind, quite apart from the natural increase amongst the coloureds themselves. There are, too, white families in Australia who, unknown to their younger members, have Aboriginal blood in their veins due to some long past association, not to mention many mixed marriages which have taken place throughout the years of this century.

James Weldon Johnson, the Negro writer, says of the Negro, " He is forced to take his outlook on all things not from the viewpoint of a citizen, or a man, or even a human being, but from the viewpoint of a coloured man, and that all activity must run through the narrow neck of this one funnel." I feel that this truth is very applicable here, particularly as our coloured people for the most part cannot yet even call themselves citizens !

Half measures can only achieve a spurious parity and reform does not move fast enough or reach enough people. Moreover continual frustration creates bitterness, and we may yet witness, if we are not careful, a gradual separation of the coloured people from us in rapidly expanding ethnic groups of a vagrant nature. This has already occurred to a limited extent in certain areas where the coloured people are reverting to the language and customs of their Aboriginal forbears because they find themselves socially unacceptable to the whites, and their growing aspirations denied an outlet.

A growing inferiority complex breeds a type of native claiming independence which is neither welcome to his own people nor to us, but there is a tendency for such a type to fill the picture in these days. This is a form of protest due of course to neglect and indifference on our part, and is likely to continue until we provide something more worth living for in its place.

In the earlier part of this talk I referred to certain anti-social characteristics which were the outcome of indifferent living conditions. These were the result of despair, defeatism and disillusion. But that is not the whole truth. The crossing of the Aboriginal race with ours does not produce a physically decadent human specimen as many suppose. On the contrary under normal living conditions the offspring display a hybrid vigour which is surprising and interesting.

Out of our state institutions and Missions have ventured forth many a fine upstanding lad or girl, physically fit and ready to enter the battle of life and fired with a modest ambition. Yet hundreds of these have returned defeated by social ostracism and lack of further opportunity for advancement. These join their elders who long ago gave up the fight, and are compelled to forget their beneficent recent teaching, to pick up the old ways which they had hoped to abandon for the superior way of life we taught them to expect. There was nothing wrong with these youngsters before our social rejection of them.

We are very rightly proud of our racial antecedents. We know who we are. A wonderful mixture of ancient Briton, Celtic, Angles, Saxon, Danish and Norman peoples. From that mixture has derived a race which has built the world's greatest Commonwealth of Nations. Admittedly we do not quite know who are the Aborigines of Australia, but we do know that early Negroid and Mongolian strains have gone, if they ever existed in them. So long have they been in Australia that they have become a homogeneous type of early man whose origins probably antedated our earliest ancestors though emanating from the same original source.

The Aborigines are a fine type of early survival of whom scientists never fail to speak well and of whom one celebrated anthropologist, Sir Arthur Keith, has said that were he asked to build a new race he would found it on the Aboriginal of Australia. We are privileged to see that process in action, but it depends upon ourselves whether it will be successful.

Here there is no time to discuss the origin of the native Australian, and I have only mentioned this to indicate that they are not the same people as those in America and South Africa that we have previously discussed, though I think the matter of origin has an important

bearing on our problem. The nature of the composite type of our coloured people seems to be such as to simplify the process of assimilation, and so far as we have been able to learn hither to, any interbreeding taking place between us and our coloureds does not result in any reversion to type, that is to the indigenous aboriginal type.

Cicero once advised his fellow citizens not to obtain slaves from Britain, because they were so stupid and dull that they were not fit to be slaves. Many equally erroneous statements have been made of the Aborigines.

Like the Americans and South Africans, that is the whites, we have branded our natives as incapable of attaining to better things, immoral, lacking intelligence, unhygienic, suffering from disease, odorous, incapable of being educated to any degree, and only fit to perform menial duties. Bald statements such as these which have no scientific basis are apt to be as erroneous as they have been so found in America in the case of the Negroes where science has been applied. But possibly some of these charges are true here as things are at present, particularly on physical grounds, though there have been many exceptions providing a completely contrary picture where we have supplied the usual amenities and opportunities of study available to ourselves.

All the same we do not regard our natives with quite the same antipathy as is displayed towards the coloured masses in some other countries. In fact we rather like them. We do not fear that our natives will suffer a fanatic upsurge, or that they will indulge in sex atrocities, or acquire a collective influence that might become a danger to the rest of the community. Nor do we fear their competition or that they will defeat us in scholarship and take our place in the professional world.

But there is no social equality for our coloureds in Australia to-day any more than there is for Negroes in America and coloureds in Africa. Yet, as I have said, yearly in America some twenty thousand Negroes pass over to the white side and are lost in the community, being regarded as white ; so do some coloureds in Africa, and even in Australia. If a few can do it and be accepted, then why not all ? It is readily admitted that the merging of the races must begin with those who are nearly akin to ourselves, and it may be that the full-bloods will never reach the same parity, the less so if they are doomed to extinction as is so often asserted.

But discrimination is still paramount. You find few of our native institutions, schools, hospitals or homes run on a basis comparable with our white institutions. Thousands are still homeless campers in squalid bush surroundings. Working conditions and wages generally are not comparable with ours. Industry and white-collar jobs are not available to them, mainly for lack of training, and if they were so fitted it remains to be seen whether they would be allowed to fill them. In the past anything has been good enough for the natives, and we have yet to overcome that feeling.

Except in respect to its own territories governed by ordinance, the Federal Government has no say in the matter of legislation at present, because under the Constitution as it stands it may not pass laws concerning the " People of the Aborigines."

Who are the " People of the Aborigines ? " I suggest that the descendants of the Aborigines cannot be deemed to be Aborigines under the Constitution, in fact, though under most State laws they are severally classed as such. But to say that the Federal Government has now no power in the matter, though true, does not mean that it could not easily acquire

that power, because under another section of the Constitution the Commonwealth is able to relieve the States of certain specific matters if requested by the States to do so. Moreover, if it can legally enable Aborigines to exercise the franchise in certain conditions as it has done, can it not make other laws of a like beneficent nature? Who knows but what overriding laws may be very necessary one of these days. Even though the Constitutional position is just the opposite to that in the United States of America, the effect is similar, and akin to the position in the southern States of America where the State laws are even opposed to the spirit of the United States Constitution, which proclaims that all men have equal rights under that Constitution.

A great many of our coloured people are sufficiently advanced to obviate the need in their case for any discrimination in law which at present exists. But if there must be some present discrimination, it should have equal application throughout the Commonwealth. That is exemplified in the position in respect to the franchise which is enjoyed by some of the people of the Aborigines in some States and not in others. In the liquor clauses which permit a coloured man to obtain intoxicating liquor in some States and not in others. In the classing of the coloureds as Aborigines in one State and not in another. In the making of a citizen in one State and not in another. In the failure to make provision for our own standard of education throughout, and in many other ways. Again, though it might not occur to you, a coloured person deemed to be an Aboriginal under State law might with impunity disregard Federal laws and be sacrosanct! For instance a wealthy coloured person could not be taxed!

Our State Native Laws and Ordinances were designed long before Federation was instituted to protect and ensure justice for the Aborigines. The views of many in the early days of settlement in Australia were like the views of those then dealing with the emancipated slave people in other parts of the world, though actual slavery was not practised in Australia. Some of those views were unfortunately handed down to the descendants of our forbears, and it has been very difficult to eradicate them. But through time these protective laws have become discriminatory as regards the coloureds. They were not framed for the most part to ensure progress beyond a perpetual "native" state, and certainly never contemplated assimilation. Revision is needed to rectify the many legal disabilities under which the coloured people still suffer, and I suggest a convention of interested parties should be called to thrash the matter out.

If the right to exercise the franchise confers citizenship upon a person, then few of our coloureds can call themselves citizens, especially as the majority of them are illiterate. A Negro is a "citizen," and proud to call himself an American. He can exercise his right to vote in increasing numbers in spite of the State disabilities, because he is a free citizen by virtue of the Constitution. Our coloureds are not citizens under the Federal Constitution, but are in very truth Australians. Surely it is time they had equal rights with us in that regard.

In spite of all disabilities there is no bitterness and hatred existing between us and our coloureds as there is elsewhere. The one great fear to which I referred just now which has strangled social integration in the United States of America has been the fear of intermarriage. In the Union of South Africa the same feeling exists. Here in Australia there is no law or discrimination against intermarriage, and it remains purely the choice of the parties most concerned.

So far with some exceptions we have declined to associate closely with our coloureds, but it seems evident, as we whites are thinking now, that that phase is closing, and we are ready to extend to them a greater measure of help and interest than ever before.

We, on our part, must get them out of the slums and backwash of our civilization, out of the camps and unsuitable field locations into cultural centres of education and training. We must make the approach.

The coloured people will need to justify themselves by their industry and behaviour, and I suggest that equality of opportunity is more important than social equality in the first instance. They must think of themselves as Australians, not Aborigines.

We must not make the mistake of only elevating the few to our standards and neglecting the many who may be more backward. They truly need our help.

Would James Noble have attained the Ministry without the help of his white friends?

Would Harold Blair, David Uniapon or others who have attained distinction have achieved it without the help of their white friends and supporters?

For one thing the many societies now interested might pool their ideas and collaborate upon a Federal basis to bring cohesion to the mass of valuable data collected. We might even establish a National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People to back up and inspire official effort. It should include representatives of the coloureds to enable them to express their point of view. Isolation spells delay and disunity encourages perpetual procrastination.

In short we must apply the Golden Rule, especially where youth is concerned, for the youth of to-day will be the mothers and fathers of those who are destined to be even more closely associated with us than they are themselves. If we do this there will, in a comparatively short time, be no need to apply the irksome restrictions at present separating us and we shall begin thinking on an entirely new level, forgetting that we may be socially and severally fraternizing with one who may have some trace of Aboriginal blood in his veins.

In following this precept we have nothing to fear, and nothing to lose, and in the process we may gain much, not only at home but also in the international field.

Let us embark upon this plan indeed and in truth believing that if we carry it out sincerely, honestly and efficiently it will mean the beginning of the end of one of the problems which has bothered Australia for so long.

It has been written, "That there is no race, no colour, no separation, if we choose the path of freedom for mankind."

A. O. Neville.

REVIEWS:

Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern. *By Ad. E. Jensen. Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, Weisbaden,* 1951. *Pp.* 432. *Price DM* 24.80.

In this clearly written and very interesting work, Dr. Jensen has put forward what can only be called a new theory of the development of religion. He rejects the animistic theory of Tylor, and while he dissociates himself from the thinking of the Vienna School, much of what he believes nevertheless fits rather well into their framework.

His basic doctrine is that the concept of god is older than the concept of the human soul. By this he means one particular sort of god, which he calls a *dema*-god. The term is taken

from the Marind-anim, studied by Wirz in Dutch New Guinea. The Wandjinas of North-west Australia and many other deities come under the heading. The essential thing is that they are primeval beings who formed the features of the earth (though they do not seem to have created it) and the living creatures in it, but now no longer live or function in it themselves. This is because one at least of them was once killed, and as a result they all went to the underworld, death reigns, men are mortal, though descended from the *dema's*, and the institution of sacrifice came into being, not as a propitiation, but as a commemorative act recalling and re-enacting the primeval scene, and serving as a means of real communion with the *dema* world now. High gods, which mark the cattle-culture, are a separate concept, and polytheism is an amalgam of the two. In some cases there are cross types, as in Mexico, where a *dema* type of god becomes a living, present being. Sacrifice as a propitiation is a degradation of the original form, when the original doctrine was obscured or lost.

The human soul comes from the *dema's*, who placed them in certain sacred spots, and are also responsible for other types of soul. This is in contrast to Tylor's theory of the development of a soul-doctrine, leading later to a development of a god doctrine. Jensen reverses the two, and has other ways of accounting for ghosts and nature spirits. The essential thing is that the god-concept comes first. He links the Wandjina cults of the Kimberlies with this *dema* doctrine, of which he considers it to be an excellent example, and he finds other examples in South America and elsewhere. While the whole subject is debatable, Jensen has put forward a very good case for further investigation. It is questionable whether his information is sufficiently inclusive to justify so radical a generalization.

The book is well produced, and has a comprehensive bibliography. It is strange, however, to see no Australian writers on Australian religion listed. The journal *Oceania* is not listed, nor does Professor Elkin's name appear, nor that of any other Australian scholar. Seeing the amount of space that is given to the Wandjina's, this is serious. Jensen has relied entirely on information from Dr. Petri in this regard; he has overlooked, moreover, all other parts of Australia, as though the Wandjina doctrine were typical Australian. These omissions need to be borne in mind as sources of supplementation when the whole thesis is considered, and similar supplementation from other parts of the world may also be needed.

A. Capell.

Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer. *By E. E. Evans-Pritchard. Clarendon Press, Oxford,* 1951, *XI,* 183 *pp.,* 9 *plates.*

This is the second volume in which Professor Evans-Pritchard reports the results of field work carried out during the 1930's among the Nuer, a cattle people numbering between 200,000 and 300,000, living in the Nilotic Sudan. The first volume, entitled *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People,* published in 1940, contained a description of oecological relations, and the political, descent and age-set systems. In this complementary study, the author begins by analysing the relationship of kinship to local organization. All members of a Nuer village, which may number several hundred individuals, are kin to one another. The village community consists of an agnatic lineage, which is the unit of political organization, together with persons who have been grafted into the lineage by the processes of tracing descent through females, inclusion of affinal kin and adoption of foreigners. Through marriage prohibitions, the village is virtually

an exogamous unit ; hence both local communities, on the one hand, and lineages, on the other, are complexly inter-related through kinship ties. The classificatory kinship system provides not only the patterns for interpersonal relations, but also assures the highly mobile Nuer of a recognized status in any community he might visit.

In a chapter on marriage, the author describes briefly the pre-marital sexual experience of the Nuer, the period of courtship and the three principal marriage ceremonies : the betrothal, the wedding and the consummation. The process by which a wife is transferred from her own to her husband's people is a slow one, covering several stages, and completed only when, after the weaning of her first child, she finally takes up permanent residence with her husband in his village. Each stage is marked by the payment of bride-wealth, in the form of cattle. After an extended discussion, the author concludes that bridewealth is not a significant factor in maintaining the stability of marriage, its two most important functions being " its role in creating new social ties between persons and of regulating the inter-relations between these persons till such time as their relationships become assimilated to kinship patterns—broadly speaking its role in the kinship system—and its structural role in interlineage relations " (p. 99). In this chapter is also included a discussion of the varieties of domestic union which exist side by side with the usual form of matrimony : ghost-marriage, where a kinsman of a man who has died without male issue takes a wife in the dead man's name ; the somewhat bizarre woman-marriage, where a woman marries another woman, arranges for a male kinsman or some other man to beget children by her wife, and herself becomes the sociological father of these children ; widow-concubinage, where a widow lives with a man to whom she is not legally married and whose children belong to her deceased husband's lineage ; unmarried concubinage, where the woman is not married to any man the father of her children having the right to legitimize his claim to the children by paying cattle to her parents. In all forms of legal marriage, the man to whom a woman is married with cattle is the sociological father of her children, irrespective of physiological paternity. " It is the fertility of the womb which a lineage receives by payment of bridewealth " (p. 122).

Professor Evans-Pritchard proceeds to discuss the complicated patterns of family relationships which arise from these several forms of marriage. Brief descriptions of the division of labour and the status of women are followed by some consideration of the conflicts arising from the dual attraction of the children towards the mother's and the father's kin, and the distinction between full and half-brothers in polygamous households. Further sources of conflict arise out of the opposition between the legal family, and the procreative family.

In the final chapter on kinship, the author restates the main principles of the Nuer kinship system, with further elaboration. The tendencies towards fission and fusion, found between opposed segments in the lineage system in the earlier study, are shown also to characterize the relation of members within the lineage, the relation of the agnatic type of kinship to the type of kinship through women, and the relation of the lineage to the total society. Agnatic kinship ties bind individuals together by common interests, descent, occupation of a common territory and moral obligations. Kinship ties through women are a set of separate personal relationships, characterized by " lack of common group interests and the absence of the jealousies and disharmonies they entail " (p. 176), and integrating the individual into the wider society by a multiplicity of ties. Since the lineage has political

functions, " it may not therefore be too fanciful to suggest that the agnatic type of kin relationships is associated with the autonomy of political segments and their structural opposition to one another—the process of fission, and the non-agnatic type of kin relationships is associated . . . with the wider social system which binds these segments together and contains them—the process of fusion " (p. 177).

Kinship and Marriage is a lucid and readable analysis of the subtle interrelationships of the principles of kinship and locality in the organization of social relations. It is a book for the student of anthropology, not the layman. One can appreciate the care with which Professor Evans-Pritchard has documented the many variations from the ideal patterns of Nuer society ; one can only regret, however, that he has not related these variations, nor the processes of fission and fusion in the social structure, to the social change which Nuer society must be involved in, as the result of contact with the west.

JEAN I. CRAIG.

Kunapipi : A Study of an Australian Aboriginal Religious Cult. *By Ronald M. Berndt. F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne,* 1951, *XXXI,* 223 *pp.,* 17 *pls. £*1 19*s.* 6*d. nett.*

Kunapipi is the short but intriguing title of an important book which pioneers another aspect of our aboriginal cultures. It is the first book devoted entirely to a description of one ritual cult. This cult, performed in the Northern Territory and Arnhem Land, was mentioned by Spencer in 1914, and the basis of it was recorded by Warner from 1926 to 1929 (*Black Civilization,* 1937). Mr. Berndt, however, in the course of his deep study of this fascinating ritual, witnessed it in various localities, recorded its songs and mythology in the language of the people, and traced its diffusion throughout this vast region. Both he and Professor Elkin believe it to be one of a series of religious cults introduced into Arnhem Land.

Professor Elkin in his introduction explains how this research was planned and carried out. He says that Kunapipi is the story of a ritual danced by the Wawilak sisters in their endeavour to ward off the great ancestral python Yurlunggur who finally swallowed them and their two babies ; their spirits lived on and revealed the rituals, including circumcision, to two Dreamtime men. Kunapipi is a Mother-Goddess, referred to as the Old Woman or the Mother, " the source of life in man and nature, both in the Dreamtime or creative past and now. In this activity she was associated with the Rainbow-Serpent, who made the road into the womb for the pre-existent spirits to be incarnated and reincarnated. She was also the very earth itself, that from which living things came and on which they depended for sustenance. This doctrine is expressed in the rituals."

Mr. Berndt gives a summary of the Yirrkalla society, from where the Kunapipi is described, and of their geographical environment, followed by a discussion of the Kunapipi concept, its mythological basis, and its expression through ritual and drawings (many of which are illustrated). Kunapipi dreams are quoted and analysed, and the two long series of sacred and secular songs, 184 in all, quoted in text with translations and remarks form the longest series of aboriginal songs yet published in their ritual context. Throughout this work one is impressed by the way in which Kunapipi penetrates the social, ritual and economic life of the people through their beliefs in pre-existent spirits and birth, ancestral beings, totems, life-giving powers, and dreams, and through their sex life and kinship behaviour patterns, to mention a few—and how in the ritual, these beliefs are reaffirmed, given sanction and life itself is explained.

There is an emphasis upon erotic symbolism, upon sex, throughout the Kunapipi as exemplified in the lay-out of the ceremonial ground, exchange of wives and ceremonial coitus, ritual defloration of girls with the *kalawali* boomerang, in the dances and chants—all of which, however, is expressive of the lives and activities of the mythical personalities concerned, and is equally important to both the men and the women. Kunapipi " highlights the maternal, nourishing, reproductive, and indeed creative principle in nature and man, though not denying the male principle. That is, it associated the cycle of the tropical seasons and the increase of human beings and of natural species, with the concept of Mother—of birth from the womb."

An important aspect of the Dreamtime concept in Kunapipi is the important part played by ancestral women, and this in turn is illustrated by their being responsible, as the author stresses, for the efficacy of a whole series of ceremonies in the rituals, and it is a part more important than has hitherto been observed. Mr. Berndt agrees with Professor Warner that the coastal Arnhem Land natives are not ignorant of physiological paternity—they link it up in a logical manner with their belief in the pre-existence of spirits. He believes that the survival of Kunapipi and other cults is unlikely because of the impact of the Missions and the Europeanization process. As contact becomes more intensive, he points out, the collapse of aboriginal community life brings disillusionment, loss of faith in accepted doctrines, and consequent maladjustment, while the cult itself becomes corrupted and distorted. One regrets, therefore, that such magnificent ceremonial exhibits as the great Jelmalandji columns, up to 20 feet high, and other material of its kind from various parts of Australia, are not in our museums.

The book is beautifully produced, but it is regrettable to see a valuable map used as an end-paper which will be destroyed when the volume needs rebinding in libraries. I would also offer the suggestion that brown-paper drawings, particularly of ritual subjects, should be restricted to aboriginal colours, otherwise the Europeanization process is being assisted by the investigator.

" Kunapipi " is, as the publishers claim, a landmark in the literature on the Australian aborigines.

F. D. McCarthy.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS:

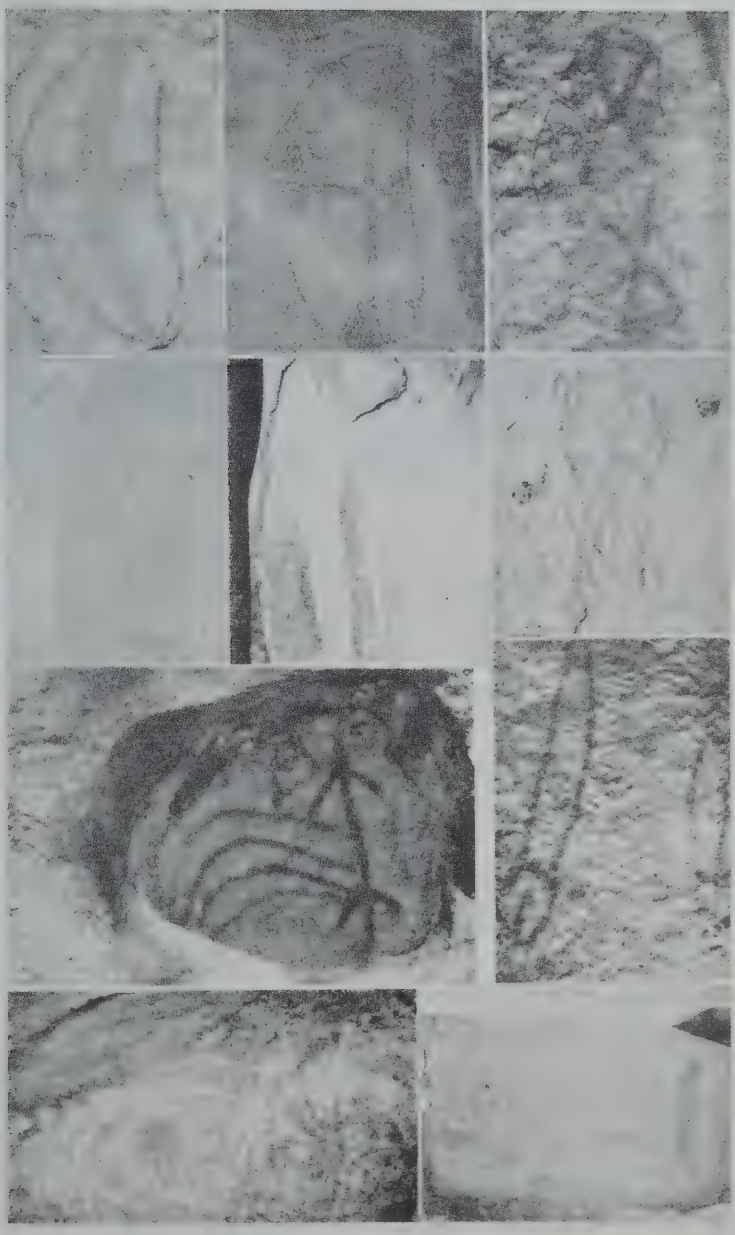
Cave Paintings in North-eastern Queensland.

Sir,

Mr. D. G. Sanderson, of Brisbane, kindly sent me the photographs, which he took in 1947, reproduced in Plate P. The cave paintings shown are situated at the southern end of Mt. Elliot National Park, and are about twenty-five miles south of Townsville, Queensland. They are painted in red on the walls and ceilings of small rock-shelters, and on some exposed rock faces, in a pink granite outcrop on a hillside close to the Ayr-Townsville road. Several distinct types of paintings are represented.

In the top and second rows is shown a series of the large fighting shields used by the natives of this area, made from the root flange of a giant fig tree. The shields bear totemic designs, and illustrate well the

CAVE PAINTINGS IN NORTH-EASTERN QUEENSLAND.



STONE ARRANGEMENTS, WESTERN QUEENSLAND.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

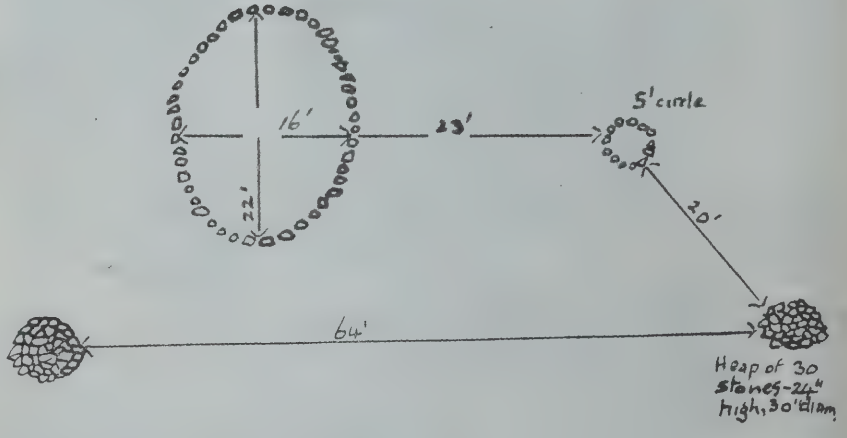


Fig. 3

manner in which local subjects are featured in Australian cave art. In size these paintings are from 10 to 18 inches long, but the actual shields are much larger. One of the photographs (second row, right) depicts a chain-like design.

The photograph on the left of the third row from the top illustrates one of the well-known and widely distributed "stick" men beside two outline boomerangs, and on the right are shown two indeterminate figures.

In the bottom row are shown two faded sets of paintings, on exposed rock faces, in which single-line and outline styles predominate. Boomerangs are perhaps the commonest subject in these two series, but a bird, a man, and other figures may be distinguished.

Mr. Sanderson said that some very old and weathered paintings occur on Mt. Burrumbush, and others are believed to occur on the Cape Cleveland peninsula.

FREDERICK D. MCCARTHY.

Australian Museum,
Sydney.

Stone Arrangements, Western Queensland.

Sir,

Whilst on a recent visit to a property in western Queensland, known as "Cotswold," I showed Mr. Shillicombe, the owner, a photograph of the Kogan stone ceremonial circles (see MANKIND, Vol. IV, p. 68).

He then informed me that there was just such an arrangement on his property and he had often wondered what it was.

The following day we inspected the site and I made a scale drawing of the arrangement (Plate Q, Fig. 3) and took two photographs of it. The second ring was partly covered by a fallen tree, so I did not photograph it, but it was quite definitely part of the arrangement.

"Cotswold" is 30 miles south of Condamine, which is about 50 miles west of Kogan, where the previously described stone circles were found.

L. P. WINTERBOTHAM.

Percussion Flaking of Adze Blades in the Musgrave Ranges.

Sir,

In October, 1945, I had occasion to ask the Rev. J. R. B. Love, who was a great friend of mine, how the Pitjantjatjina natives, inhabiting the Musgrave Ranges, sharpened the stone blades of their adzes. In the belief that his reply may be of interest to readers of your journal, I have pleasure in sending you a copy for publication in MANKIND.

Yours sincerely,

H. R. BALFOUR.

"Your letter of 25th October asking about the flaking of chisel stones:

"I have spent this afternoon on your question.

"To-day I took a man and explained that I wanted to watch him chiselling down a piece of wood and the method of re-sharpening the adze stone.

"(1) We walked round the side of the hill immediately behind the homestead here (Ernabella via Oodnadatta, South Australia) and he picked up sharp-edged bits of stone. These are just as they were found in their natural state. He would pick up a fragment of this white stone and look at it to see if it had a good sharp edge. Some he threw away. Some he declared good *kanti*.

"(2) He got a piece of 'witchetty bush'—acacia—for the handle of the adze; 18 inches or so long, with the curve in it that they like, and enough weight to drive the *kanti* with some force. This stick he barked and chopped one end to a flat termination.

"(3) On this squared end he stuck a lump of *kiti* (spinifex gum), keeping it soft over a

fire of coals, and then inserted one of the *kanti* flakes.

" (4) He pressed the spinifex gum around the sides of the flake, then rubbed saliva over it to help it cool off. (He used saliva during working to prevent the heated gum from sticking to his fingers.) After *half an hour* he declared the gum set hard enough for use and began to adze down a lump of witchetty bush.

" (5) After a few good heavy blows he broke a flake from the edge of the *kanti*. He worked on until several more flakes broke off and the adze was *too blunt for further use*.

" (6) He now took a piece of hard mulga wood, laid the *kurdinma* (adze), with the head lying flat, on the palm of his hand, and tapped the back of the stone adze flake till he knocked a chip from it. Looking along the edge he tapped again and repeated the process till he pronounced the cutting edge fit for work again.

" This tapping with a piece of wood is the normal procedure here to sharpen up the *kanti* as it gets blunted. I have described it in detail.

" The people here do not go through the methods of percussion first, then pressure flaking as do the Worora tribe, in the Kimberley district. *Percussion flaking* is the only method of sharpening. The motion of the hands in percussion is different from the Worora. Difficult to describe. As I have said above, the man taps the back of the flake with a motion towards the edge. The Worora, in the initial, percussion stage, strike rather *away from the edge* and towards the hand holding the stone.

" Summed up, the stone adze of the Musgrave Ranges is a natural flake, as it is picked up from the ground.

" To the suggestion that the tool is self-sharpening the answer is ' No.' The edge is flaked for further use when too much blunted by the breaking off of flakes.

" Two methods or uses of adze stone pertain here: (1) The *kurdinma* or adze for doing heavy chopping. (2) The stone flake in the handle of the spear-thrower, for shaving down spears and cutting up meat. This is not subjected to such heavy work, but is sharpened in the same way as the adze."

J. R. B. Love.

Ethnological Studies by Walter E. Roth.

A set of Roth's Bulletins on North Queensland Ethnography has been presented by Dr. A. Hamlyn-Harris, former Director of the Queensland Museum, to Queensland University Museum of Ethnology. The set is of unusual interest because it was Roth's personal one and contains numerous corrections and additions in his handwriting. At present this set is in the keeping of the Mitchell Library, where it will remain until a chair or lectureship in Anthropology is established at the Queensland University. Those interested in Queensland ethnology may consult the set at the Mitchell Library.

A Publication Fund Needed.

Sir,

An impressive mass of information has been recorded in Australia and New Guinea during the past two decades by anthropological research workers from the Australian National Research Council, the museums, and from institutions abroad. This invaluable field work, it is essential to note, is now a permanent feature of Australian scientific work. The material recorded and collected relates to various aspects of the native cultures—social organization, linguistics, religion, mythology, economics, music and songs, cave paintings, rock engravings, decorative art, material culture, archæology, physical anthropology and culture-contact problems.

The need is an urgent one for such research work to be carried out, but there is just as urgent a need for its results to be published. Many of the reports on even specialized aspects of these native cultures are long and costly to publish, particularly where there are texts in the native language or many illustrations of art, material culture, or ceremonies, and with the high printing costs of the present time to be considered it is possible that a great deal of the recorded data might never be published. This would be most unfortunate for both the field worker and the science of anthropology generally.

In the United States of America the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (previously known as the Viking Fund) was established by Mr. Wenner-Gren, who has stated that the concepts of culture and cultural relations developed by anthropologists offer a unique opportunity for furthering understanding and co-operation among nations and their peoples, because basic to the finding of a common approach to human problems is the awareness and appreciation of divergent cultural traditions and social organizations and their validity within their own cultural environments. The results of this Foundation's work are most impressive in field work and publications.

We need a similar fund in Australia to provide at least for the publication of one anthropological monograph or memoir each year. A principal of five thousand pounds (£5,000) would yield enough interest, together with the returns from sales of publications, to achieve this aim. A wealthy person interested in anthropology, could make a magnificent gift to science by donating such a sum to the Australian Anthropological Association for this specific purpose. It would be a tremendous encouragement to field workers and something of which Australian science in general would be very proud.

F. D. McCarthy.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES :

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of Queensland, 1951. *Summary of the report delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society, 21st September, 1951.*

The Council has pleasure in submitting to members the Third Annual Report of the Society for the year ended 31st August, 1951.

This has been rather an eventful year as, for the first time, it fell to the lot of the Council of this Society to assist in preparations for the Science Congress and to organize the programme for Section F—Anthropology, and members had the opportunity of attending the Congress itself. In addition to ordinary meetings, two visits to sites of anthropological interest were arranged for members.

During the year seven ordinary meetings were held, when the following papers and addresses were given :

1. Second Presidential Address by Professor Wilkinson : " The Natives of the Pacific Islands, with special reference to the Polynesians."
2. " Bora Rings and Their Preservation," by Associate Professor F. W. Robinson.
3. " Ancient Geography," by Dr. Arthur Wade.
4. " The Cherbourg Aboriginal Settlement," by P. J. Richards, Esq.

5. Report on a visit to Mt. Byron to inspect a supposed " dolmen," local bora rings, etc., by Dr. L. P. Winterbotham.
6. " Megaliths (including Dolmens) and their Distribution in Various Parts of the World," by Professor H. J. Wilkinson.
7. " Materials Used by Early Man," by Mr. F. S. Colliver.
8. " Pottery and Anthropology," by Dr. G. Kenny.
9. " Medicine and Surgery among the Australian Aborigines," by Dr. L. P. Winterbotham.

In addition, the following visits were made :

1. On 1st May, 1951, to Keperra Country Golf Club, Enoggera, to inspect a large bora ring, carved trees, etc.
2. On 12th May, 1951, to Rathdowney. A party of members organized by Associate Professor Robinson, and armed with scythes, hoes, etc., went down to help a local group to clear a large bora ring in preparation for a visit from the Science Congress a fortnight later. The ring is situated in the Memorial Park in the centre of Rathdowney, on land given by Mr. Tilley, and it is the intention of the Park Committee to keep it permanently in order. The Society provided the local group with information (prepared by Professor Robinson) concerning bora rings and their significance, and with an inscription suitable for erection at the ring. A great deal of local interest was aroused in regard to aboriginal history and the preservation of native cultural sites, weapons and other objects.

At the end of December, 1950, Professor Wilkinson and Dr. Winterbotham visited the Somerset Dam district to inspect local bora rings and other aboriginal relics, and particularly a supposed " dolmen " and Diana's Pool at Mt. Byron. An account of this trip was reported to the Society on 14th March, and exhibits and photographs were shown.

During the year, on several occasions, recent additions to the Ethnological Museum of the University of Queensland were shown by the Hon. Curator, Dr. Winterbotham.

Members will be interested to hear that the Ethnological Museum was established at the new University at St. Lucia in time for the Science Congress, and attracted considerable attention. Visitors from other States commented very favourably on what they saw.

At the Science Congress held here in Brisbane this year the meetings of Section F—Anthropology were well attended and some interesting papers were read. The next Congress is to be held in Sydney in August, 1952.

One of our country members, Mr. Seaton of Cairns, who was unable to come down for the Congress, sent several reproductions of aboriginal drawings which he discovered in caves some miles out of Cairns. These were very favourably commented on by the visiting anthropologists, especially Mr. McCarthy of the Australian Museum in Sydney.

We regret to record that during the year we lost by death four of our members : Dr. Wade, Rev. Hedley Abbott, Rev. Brown and R. S. Rankin, Esq. All were foundation members of the Society and regularly attended our meetings. The late Dr. Arthur Wade was co-opted as a member of the Council soon after the foundation of the Society and held office as a Councillor right up to the time of his death. Dr. Wade regularly attended both Council and ordinary meetings, and made several contributions, including addresses on " New Guinea " and " Ancient Geography." During the year Dr. Wade acted as Hon. Secretary

of the local committee of Section F—Anthropology of A.N.Z.A.A.S., and did a splendid job. Proper acknowledgement of his contribution towards the success of the Congress was made by representatives of the Australian Anthropological Association at a meeting at the conclusion of the Congress. His sudden departure from our midst just before the Congress came as a great shock to his many friends and removes from our Society one of its most esteemed and distinguished members.

At the last meeting of the Council consideration was given to the supplying of country members with fuller notes of the Proceedings, and where possible, copies of addresses given. It is hoped that a start will be made in the coming year to provide this service.

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of Victoria, 1951. *Summary of the report delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society, 8th August,* 1951.

The Council has much pleasure in submitting to members the Seventeenth Annual Report for the year ended 31st August, 1951.

Seven general meetings were held at the B.M.A. Hall, Albert Street, East Melbourne, at which the following lectures were delivered:

1951:

February 14th.—" The Korean Scene," by Howard Young.

March 14th.—" The Sudan through the Eyes of a Medico," by Dr. C. E. G. Beveridge, M.A., B.Sc.

April 19th.—" The Arnhem Land Scientific Expedition," by C. P. Mountford. Illustrated by films.

May 9th.—" The Pyramids of Egypt and Central America," by E. B. Walton.

June 13th.—" The Recent History of Anthropology," by D. J. Tugby, B.Sc.

July 11th.—" The Aboriginal Battle Caves of the Clarence River, N.S.W.", by Rev. D. Rettick.

August 8th.—" The Assimilation of New Australians," by Professor A. Lodewyckx.

It will be noted that of the above lectures more than half deal with anthropological fields of interest outside Australia and the Pacific. Council felt that, although the principal aim of the Society is to increase our knowledge of the native peoples of Australia and the Pacific, it also exists to promote the science of anthropology in general.

The above lectures were well attended despite restrictions on lighting and travel due to a more than usual number of power failures during the year.

The esteemed Honorary Secretary of the Society, Mr. R. C. Seeger, is at present furthering his knowledge of our aboriginal people by making a first-hand study of those who dwell along the coast of Arnhem Land, and we look forward with pleasure to his reports when he returns to Melbourne.

The Society is continuing its good work in the cause of anthropology in the State of Victoria, and there is every reason to hope that 1952 will see it increasing in strength and effectiveness under the able leadership of our new President, Mr. Donald J. Tugby, B.Sc.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES, 1952.

At the third session of the Congress, held in Brussels in August, 1948, it was decided that the next Congress should be held in Vienna. Accordingly, the fourth Congress will assemble there from September 1st to 8th, 1952.

The Austrian Government and the scientific institutions and societies in Vienna have guaranteed full support and collaboration.

The Austrian Executive Committee has been constituted as follows:

President: Rev. Father Professor Wilhelm Schmidt, Anthropos Institute.

Vice-President: Professor Robert Heine-Geldern, Vienna University.

Secretaries: Professors Wilhelm Koppers and Josef Weninger, Vienna University.

Assistant Secretary: Dr. Anna Hohenwart-Gerlachstein.

Treasurer: Dr. Walter Graf.

Please address all correspondence to the Secretary, Wilhelm Koppers, Institut für Völkerkunde, Neue Hofburg, Corps de Logis, Vienna I., Austria.

The membership fee is Austrian schillings 200 or $8. It covers various scientific tours and social functions. All members will receive a copy of the Proceedings. A member may register up to two members of his family as associates. The fee for Associate membership will be Austrian schillings 100 or $4. They may attend the meetings, excursions and receptions, but may not speak or vote, and they will not receive the Proceedings.

Members who intend to submit papers may from now on send in the titles to the Secretary. Except in special cases, the time allotted to every paper will be twenty minutes, plus another ten minutes for discussion. Members should inform us whether they will require a projector and indicate the size of their slides or films.

Apart from anthropological and ethnological subjects in the strict sense, papers may deal with questions of applied ethnology, demography, sociology, psychology (as referring to ethnological problems), science of religion, linguistics, folklore, prehistory, palaeo-ethnology, origin and distribution of cultivated plants and domesticated animals.

The Austrian Committee cordially invites anthropologists, ethnologists, sociologists, folklorists, linguists, prehistorians and archaeologists of all nations to attend the 4th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Vienna. It will do its utmost to make this Congress, from both the scientific and social point of view, worthy of the previous sessions, in London (1934), Copenhagen (1938) and Brussels (1948).

On behalf of the Officers of the Permanent Council:

Sir John L. Myres, H. J. Fleure, Kaj Birket-Smith, Frans M. Olbrechts.

On behalf of the Austrian Executive Committee:

Wilhelm Schmidt, Robert Heine-Geldern, Wilhelm Koppers, Josef Weninger.

The Anthropological Society of Victoria

(Founded 1932)

OFFICE-BEARERS. 1951-1952.

President: Mr. D. J. Tugby, B.Sc.

Vice-Presidents: Mr. C. A. S. Mansbridge, B.A., F.R.G.S., Mr. H. R. Balfour.

Council:

Dr. Alan Griffiths, M.B., B.S., Col. Neil MacArthur, E.D., J.P., Mr. S. R. Mitchell, M.Aust.I.M.M., Rev. D. Rettick, Mr. H. C. Stewart.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. R. C. Seeger, 56 Jenkins St., Northcote, N.16.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. H. R. Hammet.

Hon. Asst. Treasurer: Miss L. Young, 13 Chastleton Ave., Toorak, S.E.2.

Hon. Librarian: Miss S. M. Seeger.

Hon. Auditor: Mr. E. E. Lord.

Meetings are held in the B.M.A. Hall, Albert Street, Melbourne on Wednesday evenings as advertised, at 8 p.m., at regular intervals. Annual subscription (including free supply of MANKIND), 10/-.

The Anthropological Society of Queensland

(Founded 1948)

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1951-1952.

President: Mr. G. Mack.

Vice-Presidents: Professor H. J. Wilkinson, Dr. L. P. Winterbotham, M.B., B.S. (Melb.)

Council:

Assoc. Professor F. Robinson, Dr. B. Barrack, Assoc. Prof. M. Hickey.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. J. W. Johnston, "Tilga," Park Rd., Yeronga, Brisbane.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. F. S. Colliver, c/o Geology Department, University of Queensland, St. Lucia, Brisbane.

The Australian Anthropological Association

Members:
Anthropological Society of New South Wales.
Anthropological Society of South Australia.
Anthropological Society of Victoria.
Anthropological Society of Queensland.

OFFICE-BEARERS, 1950-1951.

President: Professor H. J. Wilkinson.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. F. S. Colliver, c.o. Geology Dept., University of Queensland, Brisbane, Q.

Hon. Treasurer: Mr. J. W. Johnstone.

OBJECTS.

(*a*) To promote the science of Anthropology.
(*b*) To hold biennial conferences of delegates from affiliated societies to deal with matters affecting affiliated societies generally, or the science of anthropology.
(*c*) To take public and official action in the interests of anthropology, as may be deemed desirable.
(*d*) To encourage affiliated societies to co-operate in every possible way.

The Anthropological Society of N.S.W. as such is not responsible for any opinion or declaration published in this magazine, by whomsoever expressed, unless specifically stated to be so by the Editor.

All communications, MSS., and proposed advertisements to be addressed to Mr. F. L. S. Bell, M.A., Editor, City of Sydney Public Library, George Street, Sydney.

Persons interested in the work of the Society please address correspondence to the Hon. Secretary.